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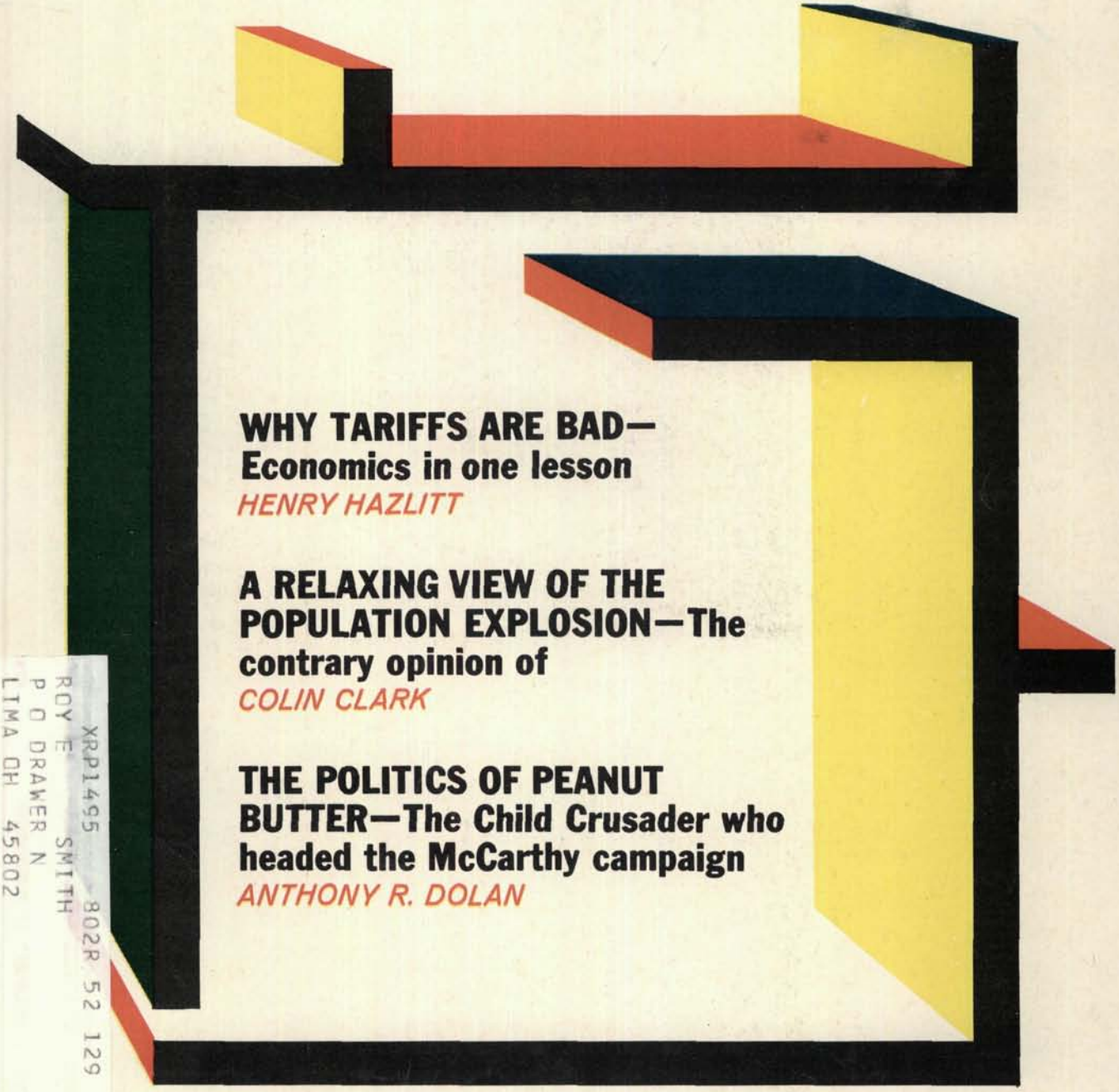
MAY 20, 1969

Why We Do Nothing About Communist Attacks
— SEE PAGE 480

NATIONAL REVIEW



WHY TARIFFS ARE BAD—Economics in one lesson
HENRY HAZLITT

A RELAXING VIEW OF THE POPULATION EXPLOSION—The contrary opinion of
COLIN CLARK

THE POLITICS OF PEANUT BUTTER—The Child Crusader who headed the McCarthy campaign
ANTHONY R. DOLAN

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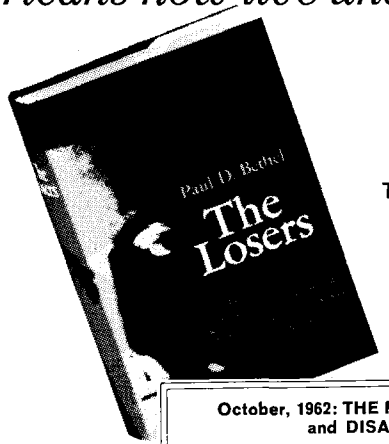

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Ambassador PHILIP BONSAL. When the freedom of Cuba depended on a strong U.S. hand, we sent a limp wrist.

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THE LOSERS is the most complete, the most important book ever published about the Communist subversion of Cuba and Latin America. In every sense it is a big book. Equal in size to three ordinary volumes, this massive work finally spells out the *whole* explosive story of the timidity, betrayal and terror that brought Cuba under the Communist hell; that threatens all of Latin America; that puts the United States – *today* – under the gun of Soviet nuclear missiles.

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- **"Two, three or more Vietnams."**
- **Spreading Castro's revolution. The "fishing" fleet that carries Cuban spies to Mexico, South America, Africa.**
- **What Castro taught the Kremlin about wars of "liberation."**
- **The shame of the Bay of Pigs. John Kennedy's cowardice. His later obsessive guilt.**
- **Instant Liberal mythology absolves Kennedy. He ignores Nixon's advice.**
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- **Guevara's deals with U.S. Black Power leaders. Puerto Rico under the gun. Infiltrating U.S. Negro communities. Use of dope to finance revolution. Stokely Carmichael and the Tricontinental group. H. Rap Brown calls Havana.**
- **Another missed opportunity to depose Castro.**
- **Che Guevara's war in Bolivia. Disputes – and cooperation – with local Communists. Death of Guevara.**

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FOR THE RECORD

■ More troubles. SDS is now planning **summer "work-ins."** Instructions to students: Clean up when you apply for a job, don't do too well in aptitude tests (you want to be assigned blue-collar work), then preach revolution—but not so flamboyantly as to get fired. Object: the worker-student alliance the Progressive Labor wing of SDS believes is essential to revolution. The **Illinois Manufacturers Association**, for one, is warning local business to look out for SDS types. . . . **Carl Davidson**'s clandestine SDS handbook for agitation in the universities has now been inserted in the *Congressional Record*. Davidson, a *Guardian* columnist who claims to be the SDS theoretician, says: "Ultimately [our only source of power] lies in our potential ability to stop the university from functioning." . . . Which isn't so hard with such as Pres. **James Perkins** of Cornell at the helm. When Negro militants at Cornell demanded $2,000 to buy bongo drums to celebrate the first anniversary of Martin Luther King's death, Perkins raised $1,700 and even provided them with free transport to NYC in the university plane, reports Evans and Novak. . . . Among the campus agitators, says House Minority Leader **Gerald Ford**, are Arab students, many of them trained in guerrilla tactics in Red China. . . . Another side of the picture: Freshman applications at **Columbia** were down 13 per cent this year (when they were going up in other Ivy League colleges) as a result of last year's disruptions. Not mentioned in the Columbia report: a drop-off in alumni contributions.

■ All is far from serene in the **New Democratic Coalition**, which was organized to unify radical liberals. Trouble is, **Kennedyites** seem to be running away with the organization. *Hard Times* reports that Teddy Kennedy has refused to speak at the May 24 fund-raising Sheraton Park dinner if **McCarthy** appears (whereupon McCarthy backed out). **Stephen Smith** (the least objectionable Kennedy to the McCarthyites) refused to be co-chairman so the Kennedyites substituted **Ted Sorensen** (whom the Clean Geners dislike). . . . **Blair Clark**, McCarthy's campaign manager (and a former Harvard roommate of JFK) caught in the middle. Clark now says McCarthy has concluded that his campaign was a mistake; that he is now totally disillusioned with the Democratic Party.

■ Law and Order bigger than ever politically: Minneapolis policeman **Charles Stenvig,** running as an independent on that platform, beat both the Republican and Democratic nominees in the mayoralty contest there last week; will face Republican nominee **Dan Cohen** in runoff. . . . Various private polls in New York City show Democratic contender **Mario Proccaccino** (a law-and-order man) running ahead of **Robert Wagner** in Democratic race and both running ahead of **John Lindsay**. . . . **Rockefeller** money said to be "flowing into Lindsay's coffers about as fast as traffic in the garment district." . . . **Norman Mailer**, in announcing his candidacy for mayor (**Jimmy Breslin** will be his running-mate): "Jimmy has all the humor and I have all the philosophy of the streets. I went to Harvard." . . . California GOP sore at liberal Republicans **Charles Goodell** (N.Y.), **Charles Percy** (Ill.) and **Thomas Kuchel** for supporting **Thomas Bradley** against **Sam Yorty**, the conservative, for mayor of Los Angeles. Bradley is supported by left CDC (California Democratic Council), is a supporter of **César Chavez**, does the ritual liberal bit.

Wolf, *Der Stern*, Hamburg — Ben Roth Agency

■ Did we hear napalm? Last week, 350 of the 2,000 civilians murdered by the **Vietcong** in the city of Hué during the 1968 Tet offensive were given a mass burial. . . . This year, according to Saigon, the VC have assassinated 1,955 civilians through March 31. . . . Australia, which lifted the passport of Communist propagandist **Wilfred Burchett** (the *Guardian*'s man in Hanoi) when he reported the Korean War from the North Korean side, will not even permit him to enter the country to see his 96-year-old father. "We will not give him a passport or any other means of facilitating travel," says Immigration Minister **Billy Snedden**. . . . Czechoslovakia's chief issuer of passports, Major **Anton Poliacik**, has defected to the West. Importance: he knows which Russians are now traveling on Czech passports and where. . . . Since **Dubcek**'s ouster, 1,225 persons have been arrested in Moravia and Bohemia (UPI-Prague). Interior Minister **Josef Groesser** says some of the "conspirators" will be prosecuted in the near future. Many of the arrested persons are accused of caching arms.

■ Graffiti Collector of the Month Trophy, to **Herb Caen** of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, who reports spotting on a wall of the University of California Medical Center a current Birch slogan: "Let's Win in Vietnam and Get Out!" Under that: "How?" And under that: "Cheat!"

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When you invest a billion dollars to help the cities, you learn some things.

Like hope.

Troubled minds: Back some 18 months ago, there were a lot of troubled minds all over this country. Including many in our business. The life insurance business. And what troubled everyone was the cities. There was poverty and frustration and decay and much ugliness all the way around.

In that atmosphere, when there was precious little hope anyplace, a lot of companies from our business got together to do something about it. To give it a try.

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You may say, this was just business as usual.

Because historically, life insurance companies invest in housing and in enterprise that makes jobs.

But this was different.

This was a new and special case of investment.

It went to an area – the inner cities – where capital was not readily available on reasonable terms, because of risk and location. Our business felt this special commitment was essential.

After all, our business is totally bound up with the health and safety of people. And people live in the cities. You could say people are the cities.

If those cities crumble, people are going to crumble, and business – ours, yours, anyone's – is apt to crumble right along with them.

In a businesslike way, our business was investing in its own future.

Due to the nature of the problem, the life insurance companies would need the closest cooperation of government and responsible leaders of the community. And they're getting it. With the result that the billion is now almost completely committed.

What we learned, was people.

By our very involvement in the core areas, we of the life insurance business found ourselves getting a lot closer to where people live.

We confirmed a deep feeling. That the problem of the cities needs people – people in government, business, and labor, working together – to help solve it. And we discovered we weren't trying alone; other businesses were making special efforts.

The life insurance companies are re-learning a basic truth. Let everyone do what he does best. We ourselves know investment in housing and enterprise. Local planners, developers, and agencies know their communities and know their needs.

Our business has learned that its hope was justified.

Sure, minds are still troubled today. The situation won't "just go away." But...

We're taking another step.

A second billion.

A second billion devoted to the same aims.

While knowing that it doesn't nearly fill the whole need, the life insurance business regards this, like the first billion, as an investment in its own future.

Isn't it your future, too?

If you would like some suggestions on what you can do, write for the booklet "The cities...your challenge too." Dept. L

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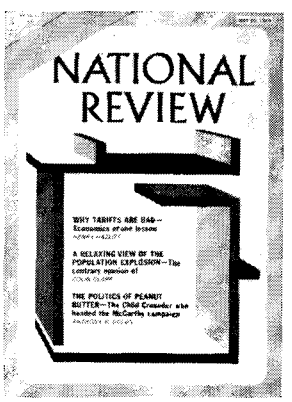
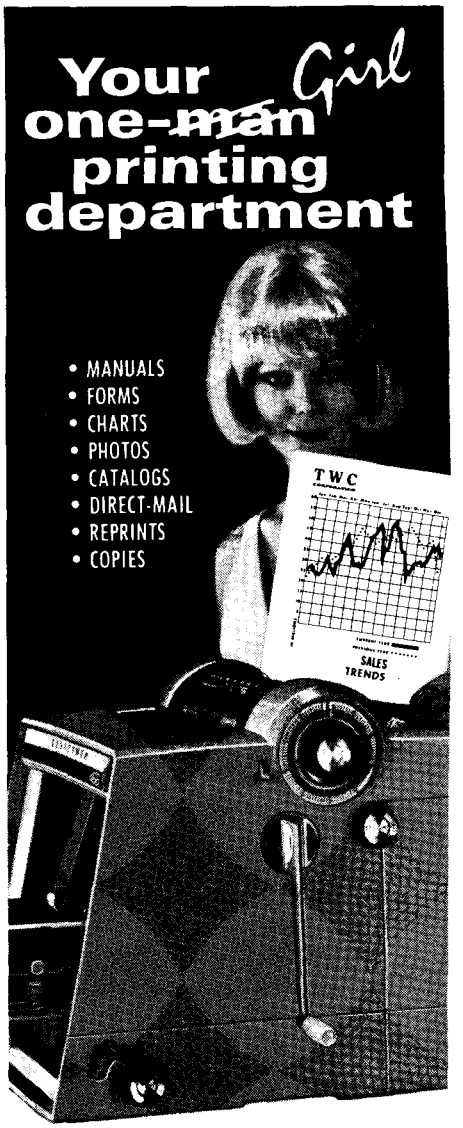
IN THIS ISSUE

■ We offer you the Population Collapse. The eminent Australian economist **Colin Clark**, renowned for his studies of agriculture and population trends in backward countries, takes on the thesis that "world power" status is independent of the brute size of a country's population. With one foot on the corpse of that thesis, he casts a look at the distant demographic horizon, where he spies the wreckage of once-great Russia and America, and measures the dominations and powers of the scrutable East. . . . You may not have noticed it, but **Henry Hazlitt** has: behind the smokescreen of talk about Free Trade, the Kennedy Round, and so on, a New Protectionism has flowered in all its noxious bloom. Up for drubbings: our import quotas on sugar, oil, steel, textiles and bonds. Worst of all, we'll suffer under protectionism as long as the Welfare State thrives. . . . And a batch of reports from yon & hither. **Thomas Sweeney**, a most inventive West Virginian, takes an unjaundiced view of man's great leap outward and concludes that our settlement of outer space is the answer to the Population Collapse, assuming it's an Explosion instead. . . . Thought you'd like to know that **Mary Gauerke**, p. 487, our elegant cartoonist, is going to see her work syndicated later this month through Register & Tribune. . . . Our man in Africa, **M. Gilbert Comte**, takes note of the Hamani Diori syndrome, which turns black Africans into political conservatives. . . . Remember Sam Brown, the college revolutionary who robbed cradles for Gene McCarthy? Well, he has gone pianissimo, and **Anthony Dolan**, a Yale junior, a talented journalist, tells you why. Mr. Dolan is a musician whose right-*auftakt* songs and guitar have made a dent in the brass curtain the Left has tried to drop around pop music.



■ Kremlinology never dies, it just theorizes away. Six hundred pages of neo-K by the great French journalist and sovietologue Michel Tatu are reviewed by the illustrious Hungarian writer, Mr. **Tibor Szamuely**. Mr. Szamuely, a refugee from Communism, lives in England. . . . **Guy Davenport** even though he writes the up-front book reviews for the Sunday *New York Times* still loves us, as witness his present judicious admonition of Messrs. Roth and Willingham. What is obscene, what is not? Is obscenity good? Is obscene art bad? See p. 497. . . . **Christopher Nichols** writes about Gore Vidal's latest counterpoint to the Great Garbage Strike. Vidal apparently connects the Population Explosion with sexual activity, and then late one night on a wind-swept promontory they. . . . **M. Stanton Evans** welcomes the Overstreets on the FBI, sorta, and J. Edgar Hoover on Communism, more so. . . . **Richmond Crinkley** tells all about Lear.



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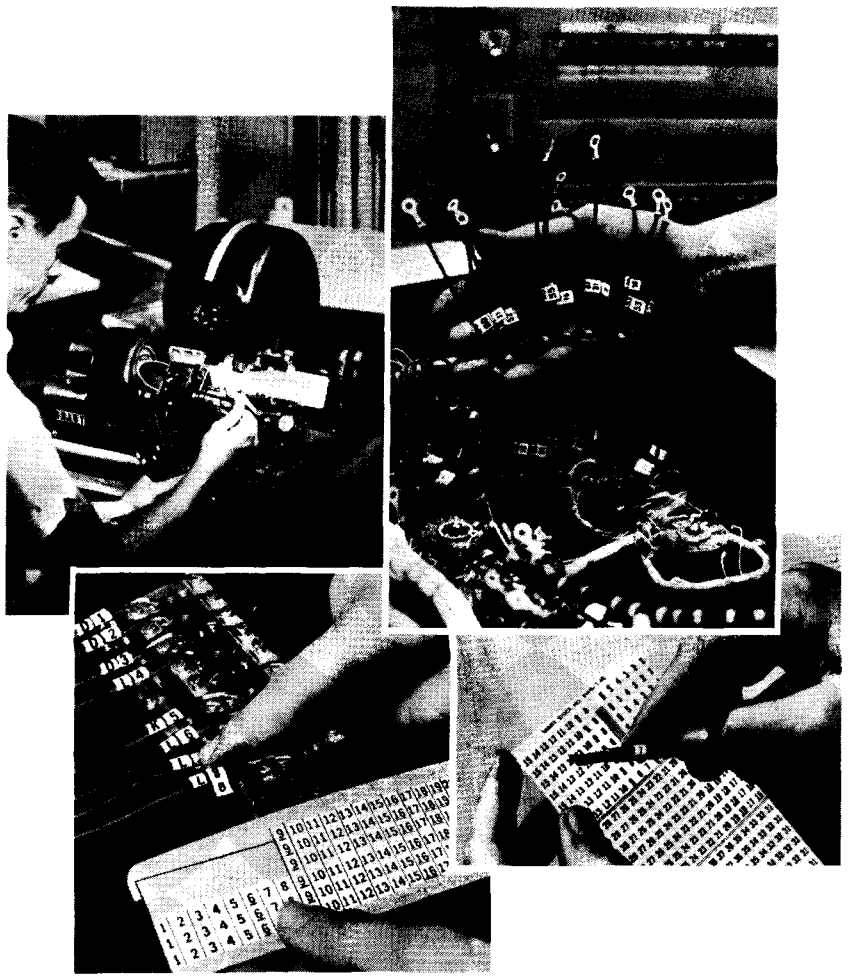

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LETTERS

NR and Vietnam

NR's statement of position on Vietnam ["The Week," May 6], while an excellent summing-up and pointing-of-the-way, distorts one critically important factor. Your editorialist suggests that "those who now call on [Nixon] most loudly for unilateral withdrawal are the ones who would most fiercely damn him for the disastrous consequences that unilateral withdrawal would bring." Not necessarily. American withdrawal would evoke whoops of joy from the domestic hard-Left (because the consequent loss of Indochina would greatly advance the interests of world Communism, both branches), and from the cerebral, allegedly "non-ideological' homegrown anti-Americans (because the damage to America's security and prestige would be fit punishment for our having embarked on so "barbarous" and "immoral" a war).

The domestic political consequences, too, are easily predictable. The hand of the McCarthyite-left Democrats would be strengthened, as would that of the Wallace people. The big losers would be the President who liquidated the war, and his party.

Brooklyn, N.Y. ADAM REILLY

Your "major statement" on Vietnam turns out to be no more than a very minor restatement of the threadbare clichés peddled by Johnson and Rusk—just the same old bag of dominoes, so to speak, clothed in the garb of Wittgenstein's *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*. May I remind you that Wittgenstein, after taking us through the sort of one-two-three demonstration with subparagraphs unto the tenth decimal place that you employ, concludes with some wise advice for right-wing editorialists: His Seventh Point is, in its entirety: "Whereof one is ignorant, thereof one should be silent."

Cambridge, Mass. LEONARD GRAEBNER

The passage from Wittgenstein is better translated: "Whereof one cannot speak, thereof one must be silent." —ED.

As a Marine Lieutenant just back from Vietnam, I read "What Next in Vietnam?" with special interest. There has been no clearer, fuller exposition of the "whys" of Vietnam: why we are there and why we must stay. Your editorial should be run—as a paid advertisement, if necessary—in major newspapers, to bring it before as wide an audience as possible.

Portland, Ore. THOMAS FULLER

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means, but reprints of our editorial remain available at 15¢ each, 100 for $10. —ED.

Israel and Lebanon

Mr. da Cruz need not concern himself with the "prospect of another Munich." It *almost* occurred in June 1967 when Israel's "allies" deliberated themselves into a funk and the UN conducted one of its celebrated dogmatics while Nasser held a club over Israel's head. I dare say that if Israel had not dealt courageously and promptly with its aggressors, the World War III which Mr. da Cruz suggests might arise out of the "inevitable" Israeli invasion of the Litani might well have occurred already.

Baltimore, Md. ARNOLD CUMMINS

Capital Punishment

Arnold Green, in setting forth his views on capital punishment [*NR*, April 22], speaks, rather self-righteously it seems to me, of the corruption in our era of "the moral right to punish severely."

The only right truly held by society with regard to the punishment of criminals is the right to protect itself from them. In the case of a murderer, this can be best accomplished by a sentence of life-imprisonment. Executing the man amounts to making the moral judgment that he no longer deserves to live. All society should be concerned with is the threat a man's actions poses to its preservation. No sweeping moral judgments are necessary, or even possible.

St. Paul, Minn. ROBERT FLEMING

Peaceful Picketers

Your nitpicking of the ACLU ["The Week," April 22] is itself worthy of nitpicking. In particular, your reference to the supposed nonexistence of "peaceful campus demonstrations" and "nonobstructive picketing" misses the mark.

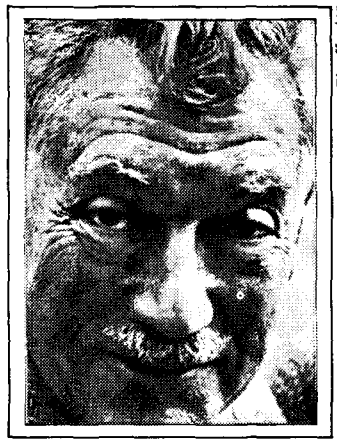
There have been on the order of 35 or forty peaceful demonstrations and a similar number of examples of nonobstructive picketing on this campus (U. of Missouri) in the past year. In times past, there have even been reasonably large rightist demonstrations. And there has yet to be violence. Of course the liberal press isn't very interested unless there is some violence.

Columbia, Mo. HARRY E. FRECH III

NR in Nineveh; Triumph Tyred

I'm afraid I cannot agree with the melioristic theme of the piece "Is Conservatism Dead?" [*NR*, April 8]. For the historical fact of the matter is God did not ultimately save Nineveh. The destruction of this city was due to its apostasy from God. Nineveh stands as a paradigm of the secular world today because of the existence of the same conditions you criticize Mr. Bozell for recognizing.

It does not follow, however, that conservatism is dead because of the lack of


Tim Kantor

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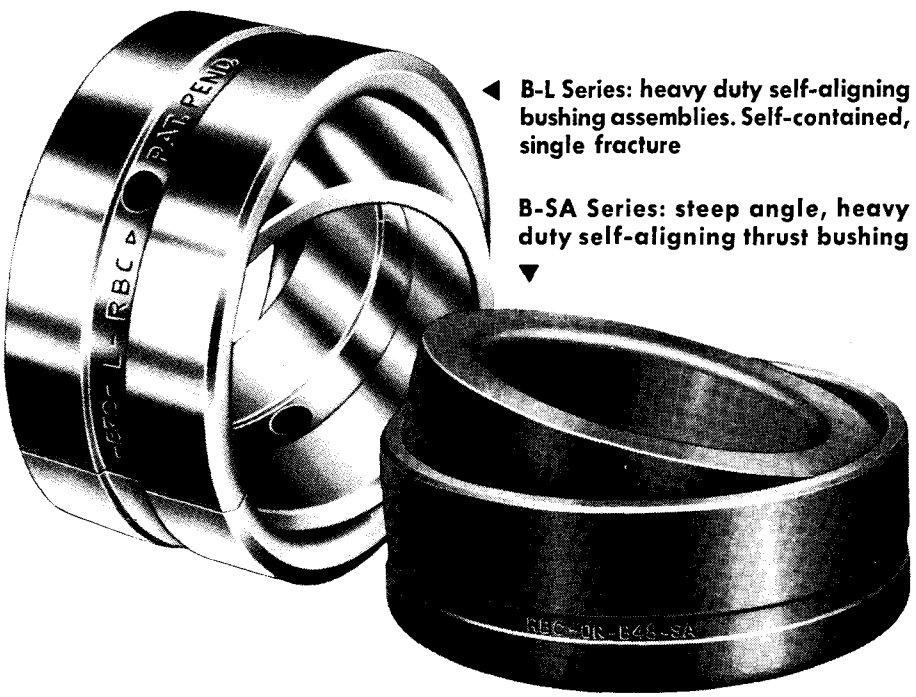

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pronouncement of the difference between it and the liberal ideology, for indeed the lines are becoming more clearly drawn. For if conservatism (i.e., belief in a standard of good *versus* evil, eternal verities, and things Biblical) were dead (as someday it truly will be), our world would now be in a state even more terrible than Mr. Bozell sees it.

Finally, I cannot see where Mr. Bozell has rejected his book, *The Warren Revolution*, or for that matter has ever been inconsistent. For does he not suggest that in searching for the keys of health for the West, the answer is theological?

Newton, N.J. ROBERT SWETNAM

It is a well-known aphorism (although it is not necessarily true) that all differences are at root theological. Maybe they are, probably they aren't. Our Nineveh (Jonah's) survived. Mr. Bozell's repudiation of his own book was done by his own hand, in Triumph, *issue of February 1968.* —ED.

The New York Race

It is a pleasure to see NATIONAL REVIEW taking an active interest in New York City's mayoralty race as shown by articles by Wm. F. Buckley and Frank S. Meyer in the April 22 issue. Defeat in the Republican primary will not only end Mayor Lindsay's ambitions for higher office, but will serve as a warning to Governor Rockefeller and Senators Javits and Goodell to mend their ways or face similar repudiation.

However, as a Marchi supporter I feel NATIONAL REVIEW is treating the Vito Battista problem too lightly. If the formula for New York is "bread and circuses" then John Lindsay is the ringmaster and Vito Battista is the clown.

Brooklyn, N.Y. BRUCE KOGAN

NR *has deliberately tried to resist the temptation to treat Mr. Battista lightly. A clown he may be, but he has the Brooklyn Republican organization behind him, is thus a threat to Mr. Marchi, and is thus in turn a help to Mr. Lindsay—hardly something to be taken lightly.* —ED.

More on OPUM

After reading your cover and "In This Issue" page [*NR* April 22], I want to say to you: "Don't you *dare* do that to me again!!!" But I really greatly admire your ability to maintain a mischievous sense of humor in these times.

Lewiston, N.Y. NYDA HUCKINS

We strongly protest the discrimination (in a pejorative sense) shown by your journal in excluding us from your report on OPUM.

Dispiritedly yours,

NUMBER ONE
for
The Radical Center Party
of North America

Balta, N.D.

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As a sympathizer with the Committee to Canonize Ayn Rand, I am unaware of any class B security violation. However, I have documented information that the Invisible Hand Society has placed the House Undemocratic Activities Committee and NATIONAL REVIEW on their reverse acronym list. This business was conducted, I am informed, on the IHS hayride which was held last night. Regretfully, I cannot disclose how a copy of the list came into my possession.

Hastings, Mich. FRED SCHANTZ

In your "In This Issue" column, you state that the members of the OPUM have thought themselves associated with "autonomous nut groups." After reading over the material on pages 376 to 381 inclusive, I am wondering if you don't feel a little bit like classifying yourselves as one of the nut groups, to take the situation seriously. Certainly, unless some activist tendencies are exhibited by these groups, it takes considerable stretching of the imagination to feel that they are anything but harmless joiners. Of course, the fact that a House Committee on Undemocratic Activities. of which I have never heard, comes out with such a report as this means that they either take it seriously, or they, too, are taken in, or laughing up their sleeves.

Further developments should at least be interesting . . .

Walla Walla, Wash. C. BALCOM MOORE

Odd Ends

I have just finished reading "Smothering Dissent," by C. H. Simonds [*NR*, April 8], and frankly I am angry. Mr. Simonds and I have equal ability to rise to our feet and shut off the television set if we disagree with what is presented. What Mr. Simonds is advocating is that we conservatives excercise the same privilege of determining what people of other persuasions shall be allowed to view that we have been objecting to on the part of liberal network commentators for years.

Coralville, Iowa THOMAS A. AYRES JR.

Sorry, Ayres, but your abilities are by no means equal: Mr. Simonds can beat you to any ON-OFF *knob in the land, hands down. You confuse criticism with censorship, alas.* —ED.

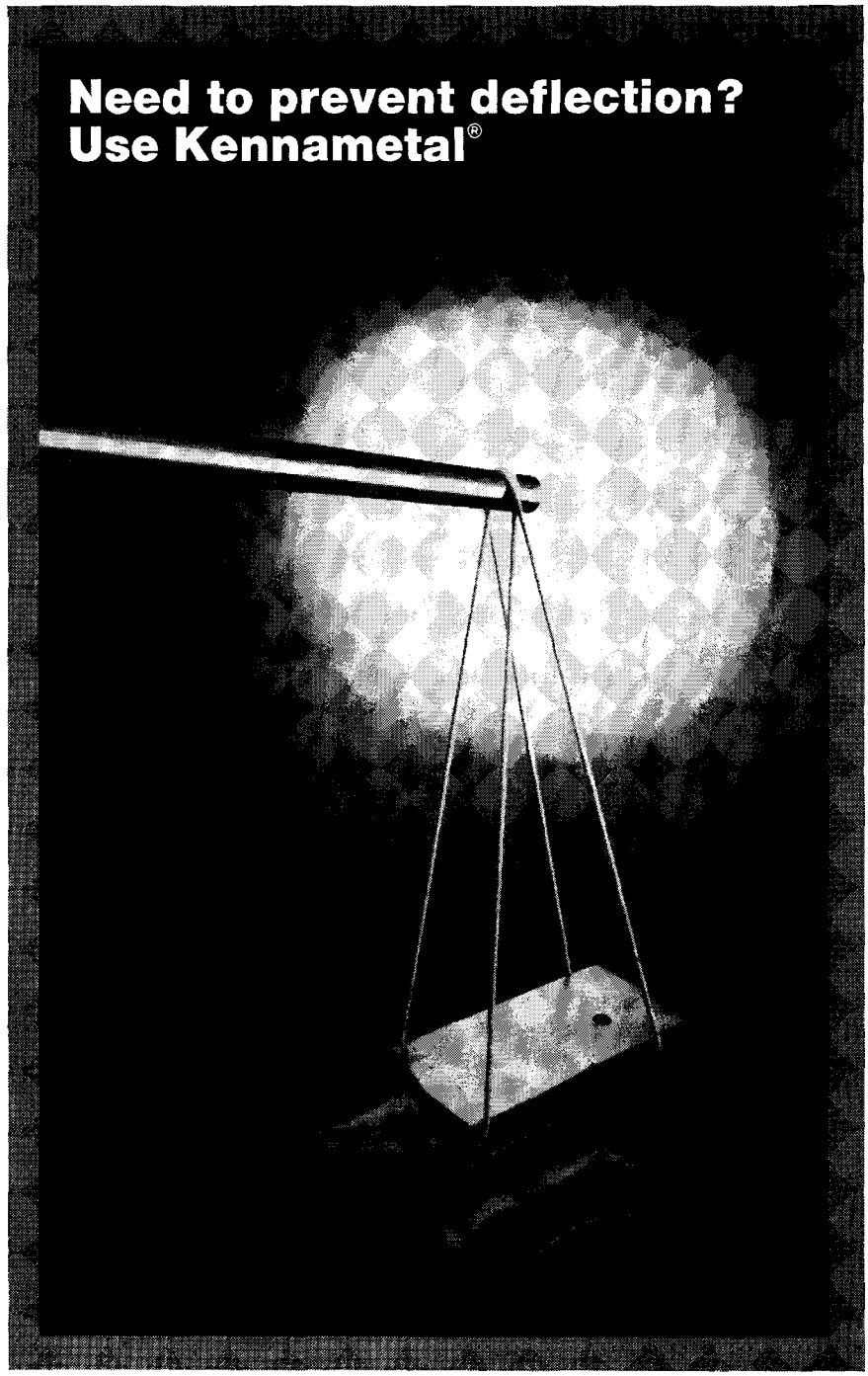
As your article on the Shaw Conspiracy Trial ["Objections, Your Honors," *NR*, March 25] was practically identical with the one that appeared in the *Nation* with the same distortions and inaccuracies, one can only conclude that NATIONAL REVIEW is manipulated by Washington.

St. Louis, Mo. GRACE P. VALE

No, ma'am, by the Kremlin. —ED.

Welcome back, John Kreuttner! Welcome, welcome, welcome. . . .

New Rochelle, N.Y. NEIL MCCAFFREY



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THE WEEK

■ On Monday, a reporter asks a knowing New Yorker why Norman Mailer's running, and gets the answer that he wants material for a new book. On Tuesday, Mailer hotly denies he has any intention of writing a book about his campaign. On Wednesday, a publisher reports casually at lunch that a week earlier he had a telephone call from Mailer's agent, asking for a bid on Mailer's mayoralty campaign book. Mailer's campaign slogan is NO MORE BULL----.

■ For those who do not understand politics, here is the explanation of the victory of Barry Goldwater Jr. in his race for Congress. 1) His father is such an inept and hopeless dinosaur he couldn't sweep dust onto his coattails. 2) Junior is so inept he couldn't possibly have won except that he is the son of such a marvelous politician.

■ Federal workers now have their very own protest group. Called Federal Employees for a Democratic Society (remind you of anything?) and claiming three hundred dues-paying members and over one thousand sympathizers, FEDS is protesting, among other things, our involvement in Vietnam. One of their gripes: federal employees who believe the war to be morally wrong should not be asked to buy federal bonds because the proceeds help to finance the war. Hmmm. Now if they'd just extend that proposition. Perhaps something like: federal employees who believe the war morally wrong should not continue to work for the government, since the government is conducting the war.

■ Organized poor folk, taking a cue from some generous horse breeders, aimed a wet blanket at a bourbon klatsch for Republican governors in Kentucky for the Derby. The breeders had given the governors a $70,000 thoroughbred, and the poor, with great ceremony, countered by offering up a $70 mule named "Hope," to dramatize their plight, etc., etc. "Hope" arrived at a midday luncheon, attended by two hundred members of the press, and Kentucky Governor Louie B. Nunn strode out to meet him and make the acceptance speech: "When I look at the face of this mule, a somewhat sad, forlorn animal, I shall think of the sadness that dwells on the faces and within the hearts of the poor people of our state. When I look at the back of this mule, I think of the tremendous burden of responsibility we bear for these people. . . . And as this mule walks away and I see his rear quarters, I shall always be mindful of the conduct and behavior of some of those who made this presentation." A potentially nasty confrontation, handled well.

■ Onward and Upward with the Arts: Out in Flint, Mich. they had an art show. Forty young Negroes invaded the show and ran around breaking glass, smashing pottery and sculpture and ripping paintings from their frames. In one room, where works by faculty members of Flint Junior College were on display, every single item was destroyed. Police suspect the rampagers were members of the college's Black Student Union, whose current grievance is that not enough Negroes get solo parts in the school choir.

■ Though its promoters try and try, so far the "hunger" issue refuses to take off. What starts out in the headlines as hunger always turns out to be malnutrition down in the story, and malnutrition just isn't a conscience-jolting, public-imagination-galvanizing thing. Then there are the spoilsports, like mean old Mayor Daley of Chicago, who very publicly invited anybody in the city who was hungry to call his office. There were all of 25 calls; each was carefully investigated and in most it was found that the "hungry" caller was 1) qualified for more public assistance than he was receiving, or 2) was unaware of the food stamp plan set up to help him. Meanwhile downstate, Rev. Jesse Jackson and six Democratic legislators announced a plan to "fight hunger" by replacing food stamps with cash, creating job training programs, subsidizing the unemployed, and making slum buildings "illegal." The plan is *not* to be called "welfare," Rev. Jackson insists, because "the word 'welfare' is demeaning."

■ The first half of "the most comprehensive review of national security policy since the end of World War II" has been completed and placed before the National Security Council. This section is concerned with nuclear weapons systems and strategic policies. The second half, analyzing political possibilities and non-nuclear military forces, is due by July 1. In accord with the approved methodology of the Nixon Administration, the report takes the form of a presentation of the "spectrum of options," from which, presumptively, one is to be chosen and acted on. This contrasts with prior Administrative custom, which presented the President with a final recommendation that blended, compromised, and not infrequently confused the conflicting views of the agencies, committees and individuals through whose hands the draft had passed. Since the options compared in the completed half of this global strategy report range from a massive crash buildup of nuclear weaponry to a freeze at or below current levels, choosing is going to be a rather awesome experience. Mr. Nixon, in spite of his predilection for neatness, may find himself mixing a protective dash of confusion into his raw decision.

■ The thriftiest bureaucrat in Washington is Miss Frances Knight, who runs the Passport Office for the State Department and runs it at a *profit*, more than $8 million last year which she duly returned to the U.S. Treasury. So shrewd a businesswoman should be popular at budget time, but *Chicago Tribune* columnist Willard Edwards reports that Miss Knight is being

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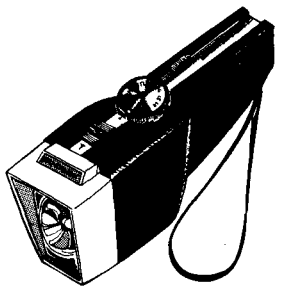

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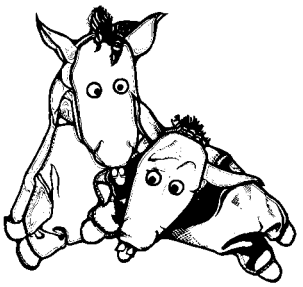

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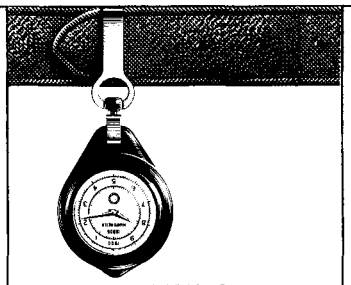

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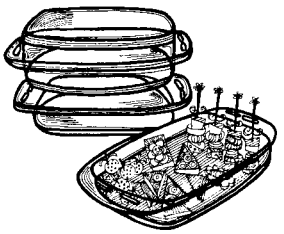

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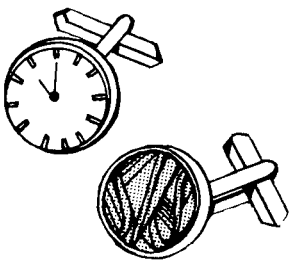

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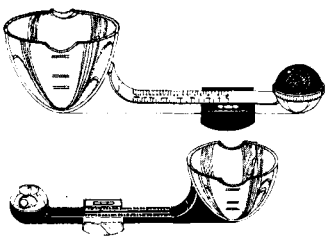

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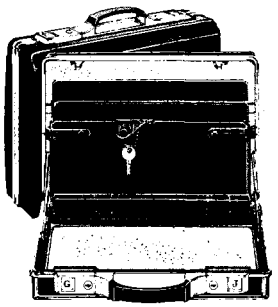

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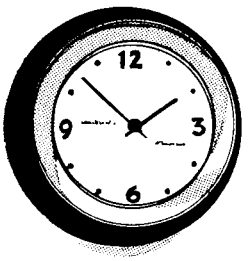

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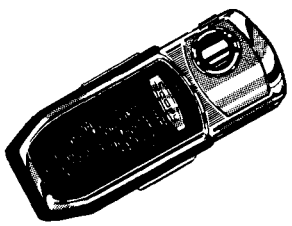

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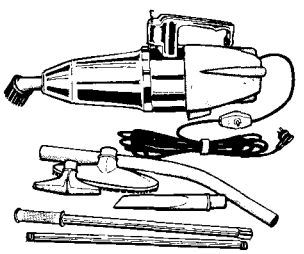

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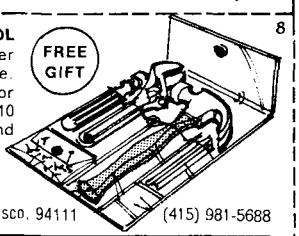

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garroted by the government's financiers. She asked her bosses for enough new money this year to open passport branches in Dallas, Houston and Detroit. In these and other cities without special offices, the federal courts must handle all passport applications, and the courts have complained to the State Department that they are overloaded with their own work, especially in Dallas, Houston and Detroit. "All I am trying to do," Miss Knight said in her request, "is to render citizens a service for which they are paying and on which the government makes a profit," but the State Department, apparently pressed by Democrat John Rooney of the House Appropriations Committee, has said no. Rooney, Mr. Edwards reports, has close friends in the passport office who do not like Miss Knight, a conservative Republican. So there must be no new branch offices, which would mean an extension of her influence, and much more borrowed paperwork for the reeling courts. And the State Department, refusing to expand its only profit-making agency, will tell the public it is being economical. *Sic transit* fiscal sanity.

■ A group of China scholars, not the ones who customarily clutter our television screens, held a thoughtful, informative conference last week on "Twenty Years of Communist Rule on Mainland China." They documented the brutal internal policies and aggressive foreign policy of the Maoist regime and generally concluded, in the words of New York University professor Frank N. Trager, that "our task—the task of all freedom-loving peoples—is . . . to make it so difficult for the Chinese Communist aggressors that they will lose such power as they have acquired." Dr. Chi-pao Cheng summed up the discussion by citing Chinese belligerency toward the Soviet Union as ultimate proof that China's Communist leadership always "repays kindness with abuse and violence. Compromise or appeasement simply does not pay in dealing with the Chinese Communists. It is evident that some positive policy must be developed." And not, he might have added, Teddy Kennedy's policy of accommodation. More information on the conference can be had from the Chinese Information Service, 100 W. 32nd St., NYC 10001.

■ Some of those United Nations scare reports from Katanga were doctored, says Sir Ian Scott, former British ambassador to Léopoldville, in a fascinating book, *Tumbled House: The Congo at Independence.* And you know why, to help Dag Hammarskjold stay in the favor of Kwame Nkrumah and Jawaharlal Nehru. "United Nations policy, if it was policy, was that Tshombe was a bad thing and everything had to be done to suppress him," writes Sir Ian. Two senior UN officials in the Congo approached him in 1960-1961 to tell him that on-the-spot reports were being doctored before dispatch so as to present a picture of events which suited the then Afro-Asian bloc. They particularly exaggerated alleged British support of Tshombe's move for independence in Katanga when in point of fact, says Sir Ian, "this was a wholly hoax allegation. I should know because I would have been the person through whom the support was conveyed." So UN troops battered their way into Elisabethville killing anyone who stood in their way because, we quote: "The United Nations' policy in the Congo had to be such as not to offend them [Nehru and Nkrumah] to the point where their support of Hammarskjold might have wavered in New York." And still there are people who insist that if only the UN had its own army all would be well in the world.

■ Concluding its twentieth anniversary meeting, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, by a vote of 13 to 2 (Greece and Cyprus), with three abstentions (France, Switzerland and Turkey), warned the Greek government that its policies violated the principles of human rights, and suggested that Greece might be expelled from the Council at its next meeting unless she mends her ways. Another resolution of this month's Council meeting endorsed expanded multilateral contacts with the nations of Eastern Europe.

■ Now You See It . . . : Two successive items on the UPI teletype April 30: *Washington*—". . . Malcolm Barker, Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa., said he found it 'distressing that these people are still talking seriously about the domino theory and how it still applies when I do not think it does apply.' Asked upon what he based his opinion, Barker said, 'The incidence of events in Southeast Asia shows there to be no domino effect.' " *London*—"An American withdrawal from Vietnam would imperil a number of Southeast Asian countries, the Institute for Strategic Studies reported today. . . . The Institute endorsed the so-called domino theory of Asian politics, which says that if the United States allows Vietnam to fall in Communist hands, the rest of the Asian peninsula would do the same."

■ Whoops! On May 5, Sanford D. Garelik, John Lindsay's choice for City Council President, said on radio station WEVD: "I have very strong reason to believe that money is coming from Cuba and China to foment dissent on the campus." A few hours later, Richard Aurelio, campaign manager for Lindsay and Garelik, issued a statement allegedly penned by Garelik: "I want to correct an erroneous impression I gave," it began.

An Exchange of Toasts

At the White House on May 6, 1969, President Nixon and Prime Minister Gorton of Australia exchanged toasts. The meaning of what they said should not be lost: on Americans, on members of the Pacific community, on leaders of the Communist world.

PRESIDENT NIXON. . . . Mr. Prime Minister, Mrs. Gorton, and our friends:

We see the world as they [the Australians] see it. They are among those who understand, as I think most of us in this room understand, how much rides on what happens in

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Do you have a

- ☐ ~~MOTHER'S DAY~~ TOO LATE!
- ☐ FATHER'S DAY
- ☐ GRADUATION
- ☐ BIRTHDAY
- ☐ MAN IN THE SERVICE
- ☐ YOU NAME IT...

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the Pacific. They are a Pacific power, as we are; and at a time when most of the world, whatever they may think privately, will not speak up publicly with regard to what the United States is doing in the Pacific, and as indicated in the very difficult war in Vietnam, our friends in Australia know why we are there and why they are there and we know that they are there with us.

They know why and beyond that, they are willing to say why. At a time when we sometimes wonder if our policies are understood or appreciated, at such times we are most grateful to have such good friends.

Now tonight we have a man who knows the great role that his country can play, that ours must play, and who has that courage that we all admire so much—the courage to speak up when sometimes it might be perhaps more politic to say nothing, or at least to say something else. . . .

PRIME MINISTER GORTON. . . . Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

We have stood together in many struggles; the First World War, but far and away from our shores and yours, we fought for the same reasons, our soldiers and yours, the Second World War, the Korean War where Australians were within the first week in action with the United States forces and the first country, sir, to be in action. And now, the Vietnam war.

Men have for so long had to struggle and probably always will have to struggle against the idea of absolute and arbitrary power; against the idea of the secret police and the hangman; against the philosophy that in order to be free and live in peace one must subject oneself to the rule—without war—of dictatorship. Mankind all through the years have been prepared to say "If you wish to eat you must sell your immortal soul. If you wish peace you must submit to dictation." There is in the human spirit a refusal to accept this. [That is why] one talks of nations standing together in war not because it is in war, but because of the objectives sought by such struggles.

You, sir, are bearing today a burden, greater, I think, than that borne by any other man in the world I know. And in a way here history is repeating itself because as I look up there and see a former Republican—I see a former Republican looking down upon us, my mind goes back to those times and that burden and the turmoil in this country in that period.

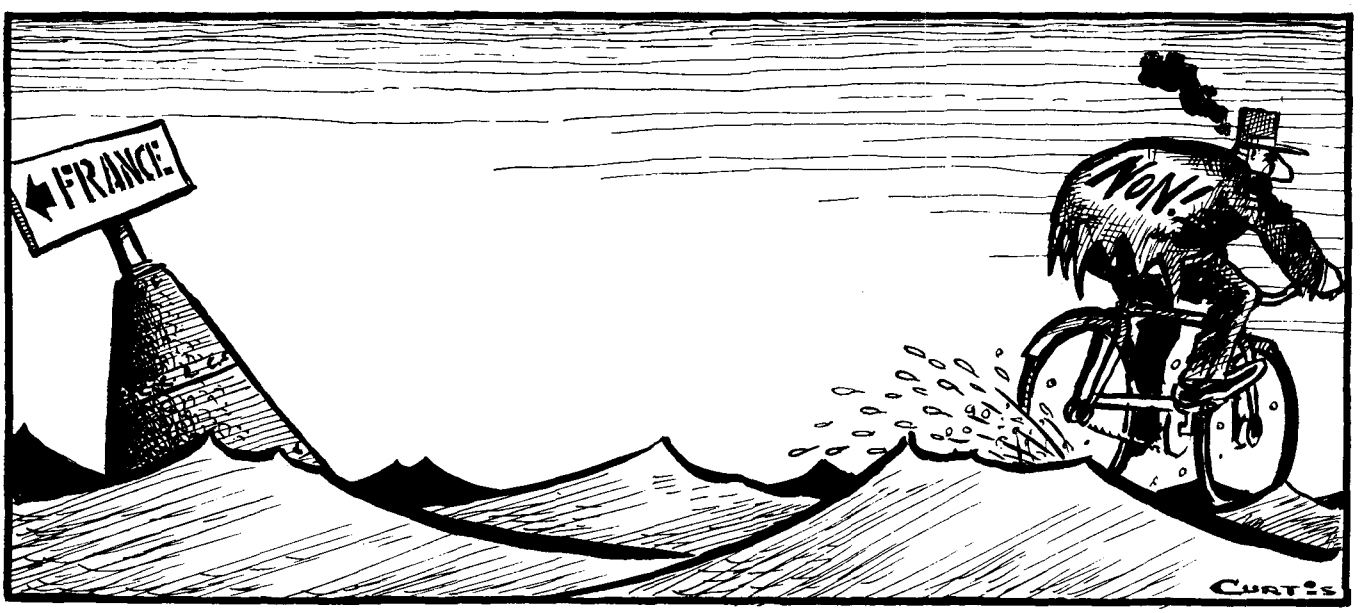
Too often do we now look back at Lincoln and tend to think that the speeches he made were well-received and tend to think that the ideals he professed were accepted by all the people of the United States. But not enough do we look back and think of the burden for five long years he bore during a period when the United States lost more dead than in the many wars since. And he bore the burden.

During a period when Copperheads were inciting riots in order to bring peace; during the period when the Horace Greeleys and others of the press were attacking not only his ideas, but him personally; during the period when regiments from the Army of the Republic had to be brought back to patrol the riots in New York—that was a burden. But it was one carried like a man.

[Otherwise] there would be no United States today. So the bearing of these burdens and the successful consummation of these struggles is something which is not for that time alone or for this time alone, but which, having been successful in that time, led to the United States being able to be what it is today.

I think that we will stand together in the future as we have in the past, the great, the small, the apparently small, but fired by the same motives, inspired by the same ideals, resolute in the same way.

I hope that this will be true. It has been true and I believe it will be true. And for our part, speaking for Australians, wherever the United States is resisting aggression, wherever the United States or the United King-



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dom or any other country is seeking to insure that there will be a chance for the free expression of the spirit; wherever there is a joint attempt to improve not only the material but the spiritual standards of life of the peoples of the world, then sir, we will go waltzing, Matilda, with you.

What Now in Vietnam?

The following are among the first responses to our editorial of last issue, "What Now in Vietnam?" . . .

I am grateful to NATIONAL REVIEW for the sharp and closely-reasoned defense of our presence in Vietnam and for their realistic assessment of our current posture there.

It is essential that we achieve our minimum objectives in Southeast Asia. We now have the military initiative there, and growing stability and maturity on the part of the Vietnamese government. We can achieve these objectives.

We are confronted by an enemy who entertains no hope of military victory, but simply seeks to prolong the war to promote weariness on the part of the Americans to the extent that they would generate popular support for a "cut and run" solution. This would be tragic.

We must, ourselves, possess that with which the enemy is amply endowed—infinite patience.

JOHN G. TOWER
United States Senate

"What Now In Vietnam?" is a very interesting article but, frankly, it is not easy to follow because of the decimal type of reference you use on the left of each paragraph, but let's forget the little idiosyncrasies of the writer and get at the meat.

The only thing that I find that I would completely disagree with is in your number seven. You state that, "and nothing since President Johnson initiated massive support in 1965 . . ." This began with President Kennedy when he ordered 16,000 troops to Vietnam in late 1961 and 1962 and these men were ordered to shoot back. There are really three phases to the Vietnam war: Phase One. The very limited support that President Eisenhower gave under a moral commitment to South Vietnam and this support consisted only of advisers to the extent of 1,500 to two thousand men. Phase Two. This came when Kennedy and McNamara decided to go from advice to shooting and sent the enlarged forces I mentioned before. Phase Three began in 1965 when President Johnson did exactly what President Kennedy should have done when he initially decided to make the Vietnam war a war.

The mistake that both of these Presidents made was accepting the doctrine of limited war as a valid and workable one. There is no such thing as a limited war for there is no way to get both sides to limit action. Had either President Kennedy or President Johnson on their decision to escalate into war or a larger war had at the same time decided, as they should have, that the war should be ended promptly and had they used every weapon short of nuclear to achieve this and attacked every target which would aid in accomplishing the mission, it would have been successful.

This war will be looked upon by students of warfare in the future as a war conducted by civilians completely and totally ignorant of tactics or strategy and completely lacking in a willingness to win. I think the article is good and I think that people will understand it.

BARRY GOLDWATER
United States Senate

Your article on Vietnam sums up the situation there with accuracy and intelligence. I have long advocated that if we are to fight there at all, we must fight to win. Unless we achieve the minimum goal as you have outlined it we will find ourselves engaged in similar hostilities with the Communists in another part of the world. This war should be terminated, but only when there is a true end to fighting, a viable government in Saigon, and the Communists have been taught they cannot pursue their goal of world domination and get away with it.

STROM THURMOND
United States Senate

The article impresses me by its sober and dispassionate analysis of an acute national problem. I hope it will be widely read and understood.

I like its statement of the American minimum objective —"to guarantee South Vietnam against Communist takeover for the next period" as well as the definition of the word "period," roughly eight to ten years.

I note especially the remarks in Para. 11.16 that from the beginning of our involvement in Vietnam in the Eisenhower Administration, neither the President nor any other leader of national stature has made the necessity of our action in Southeast Asia intelligible and credible to the people. Perhaps this is accurate but the very volume

There's Something about a Liberal

He's bored by columnists who log
The horrors happening in Prague,
But merely touch on Ian Smith
And he's off on the Hitler myth.

When buffeted by campus blacks
He's usually making tracks,
But say you're sorry for the South
And he'll be running at the mouth.

However, to conservatives,
The weirdest wrinkle's where he *lives.*
It isn't where they're all uptight;
It's where the neighborhood is white.

W. H. VON DREELE

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of statements issued over the years would seem to belie it. I find in that part of your text an implication that Eisenhower started our military involvement in Vietnam. I do not believe he did; if he had deliberately involved us militarily, I am sure he would have avoided the costly series of hesitations which enabled the Soviet Union and Red China to equip and train North Vietnamese-Vietcong forces.

The points made about a compromise peace seriously damaging to American credibility in Asia; the impossibility of an outright coalition between the Saigon government and the Communists, the fact that Americans are not prepared for this type of amorphous, dragging war are admirably taken. There is no doubt that President Nixon will provide the active leadership the situation urgently demands. I can only hope that the article's estimate of the widely alienated public opinion in the United States as representative of only a minority is factual.

ROBERT MURPHY
Former Under Secretary of State

I have just read "What Now in Vietnam?" It's a good article, and I think you've summed up the possibilities very succinctly and accurately.

I hope the United States is able to achieve the minimum objectives outlined in that article. If it doesn't, our country will be in most difficult straits.

ARLEIGH BURKE
Former Chief of Naval Operations

I find it difficult to comment on NATIONAL REVIEW'S "editorial statement" on the Vietnam war because I consider it the best and most accurate I have read. On only a couple of points do I have my doubts.

For instance, (8.32) I do not believe that the split between pro-Russians and pro-Chinese among North Vietnamese Communists is really disruptive. When necessary they manage to cooperate against us.

Nor am I (9.3) so sure that a reneging Nixon will not ultimately accept some sort of South Vietnamese government including Communists unless the American people speedily manifest their disgust with any such solution. I have always been convinced that the future of South Vietnam will be decided not in Saigon or in Hanoi but in Washington, D.C.

Finally, both Korea and Vietnam have convinced me that the American people are incapable of fighting wholeheartedly a war wherein the Administration not only fulfills secret agreements with our sworn enemies but which it is not trying to win. Surely, the proper answer to Hanoi's attempt to establish Communism in the South would be a southern counter-attempt to oust Communism from the North? If Ho realized that his own regime was in danger he would pipe down in short order. Hence my axiom: no more American half-wars. Accepting the danger of escalation is essential to the defense of freedom anywhere. Until the American Administration accepts this, things will probably go from bad to worse.

EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER
Author and Foreign Correspondent

Pusey's Soliloquy

I do not like their faces. Is it hate,
Or is it just the hair? (Good Lord, J. Press
Is doomed.) They say I must negotiate,
But are they, rather, saying: acquiesce?
O, for a harmless panty raid again!
Damn Nixon. Backbone must not be confused
With raw repression. I remember when
A freshman always begged to be excused . . .
They tell me Eric Sevareid's implied
I pulled a Munich. Well, he's sold out too.
The Corporation's restless. Could they hide
A hankering to tell me that I'm . . . through?
Hogwash. But must the students be so *rough*?
My name is Nathan Pusey, not MacDuff.

W. H. VON DREELE

The Reluctant Leader

Two months ago Teddy Kennedy was way out in front in the fight against ABM, and the Kennedy gang was rounding up the troops. Former John F. Kennedy aides Richard N. Goodwin and William vanden Heuvel were charged with organizing a big national committee. Kennedy science adviser Jerome Wiesner and Kennedy State Department counsel Abram Chayes were assembling, on Teddy's initiative, a collection of anti-ABM essays that were scheduled for book publication in May with a general introduction by Senator Edward M.

Then, lo and behold, something happened of more than passing strangeness. A Kennedy fell silent (silent, we mean, for a Kennedy) and retired for a nonce from the headlines. And the word spread that Teddy, unhappy about his prominence and presumptive leadership in the anti-ABM crusade, wanted, if not altogether out (which was hardly possible after all he had already said), a humbler post in the ranks. The book—widely touted in advance by publisher Harper & Row—became suddenly an embarrassment. Formal publication was suspended; the Kennedy introduction disappeared; a sloppily printed unbound version of the essays made furtive rounds of Washington corridors. Teddy may not be able to get himself off the hook, but he is obviously trying.

This cautionary tale of cooling ardor may serve to remind us, once more, that what is really at issue in this ABM controversy is politics and political attitudes, not the complicated scientific, technical and strategic data that make up the verbal surface. Teddy Kennedy didn't quiet down because Secretary Laird convinced him that Dr. Wiesner's calculations were fallacious, but because his sensitive political antennae reported that identification

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as Mr. Anti-ABM might not be such a hot idea for advancing the Kennedy political future.

The opposition to ABM is a united front composed of three primary groupings: 1) the revolutionaries and other anti-Americans—those seeking to injure, weaken and destroy the United States—who oppose ABM for the plain and simple reason that they believe it will strengthen U.S. security; 2) professional politicians who are looking for a stick to beat Nixon with, and hope they have found it in ABM; 3) ideologizing liberals and pacifists, who base their views on their own hopes and on the reasonable, peaceful intentions they attribute to the Communist leaders, rather than on an objective estimate of the actual and potential capabilities of the Communist nations.

It is unlikely that this uneasy amalgam will prove solid enough to produce a majority when the time comes for the showdown vote in Congress. The opposition's jeremiad against the military-industrial complex is too manifestly an overkill of the President's temperate, modest and flexible Safeguard proposal. No one claims that Safeguard, even if fully deployed, will give the American people 100 per cent protection from nuclear attack. But no informed person denies that it would add some, and perhaps critical, protection: indirectly, by protecting the missiles whose retaliatory effectiveness deters attack; and directly, by Safeguard's ability to deal fully with the relatively small number of missiles that might be launched by China, by a berserk small nation that got hold of a missile or two, through accident of a Strangelove-variety, or by a nation seeking a "catalytic" bomb in order to involve other powers (e.g., Cuba firing at Miami, in order to cause us to fire at Russia, and vice versa).

As the debate goes on, the stand of the opposition will come to seem more and more odd to average citizens—who already, by the polls, are nearly two to one in favor of ABM. The Soviet leaders think well enough of ABM to have set up, already, an extensive system and to keep working on improvements. If Russians can have ABM protection, why shouldn't Americans? So it would be fine

Norris, *Vancouver Sun*, Canada — Ben Roth Agency

"It was his first day."

if we could agree with the Communists to slow the arms race and maybe disarm some. But negotiations with Communists are tough and long. It's only common sense that you don't improve your bargaining position when you throw away a valuable chip before you start playing—which is obviously what we would be doing if we renounced ABM, without any corresponding concession, *before* we started talking with Moscow. And besides, what if we *can't* get anywhere with disarmament negotiations? What if the intentions of the other side *aren't* reasonable and peaceful?

As these anomalies sink in, one hopes that the swing of voter opinion in favor of Safeguard will be wide and strong enough to induce a congressional Aye.

Campuses and Courts

Columbia: Hoping to improve on their triumphs of last spring, members and friends of SDS briefly occupy Philosophy Hall. The University obtains a court order barring "obstructive or disruptive demonstrations." Two weeks later, SDS takes over Fayerweather and Mathematics Halls; on the strength of the earlier order, the University gets a show-cause order requiring the occupiers to appear in State Supreme Court the next morning. When they fail to show up, warrants for their arrest on charges of contempt of court are issued. When it becomes known that warrants are out, the revolutionaries flee the two buildings, many of them trying to conceal their identities. Five are later arrested.

Cornell: Six SDSers are arrested on charges of criminal trespass after they try to disrupt an ROTC drill.

Dartmouth: State police smash their way into the barricaded Administration Building, to enforce a court injunction ordering sixty demonstrators out.

New York University: Occupation of the Bursar's office by forty student radicals ends after only four hours, when a University official threatens court action.

Brooklyn College: The faculty adopts a resolution urging the administration to use "all legal means" to avoid disruption of the campus.

Pratt Institute: President James Donovan announces that any student who commits vandalism, denies other students access to classes or "threatens, terrorizes or physically harms another person" will be "subject to arrest and summary expulsion."

Northwestern University: Law professor Fred Inbau predicts a wave of lawsuits by non-dissenters, parents, alumni, taxpayers and others whose rights are infringed by criminal disruptions on campuses.

Chicago City College: Chancellor Oscar Shabat threatens to seek an injunction to open his closed campus, which action, he says, would "throw the situation into the lap of the court, and then society could take action."

All of which suggests that the courts are the latest (perhaps the last?) line of defense against revolutionary

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disruption of college campuses. Even the most ferocious radicals seem to blanch at the sight of injunctions and restraining orders; they yield almost meekly to the hated police, when those police come armed with papers signed by judges. They have successfully intimidated fellow students, faculties, administrations, even local governments —but the law and its courts remain uncowed.

But just as they are unable to recognize the revolutionary intentions of the enemy, all too many faculty and administrators refuse to understand that the campus can no longer be a sanctuary—that the problems of the academy are, as Shabat suggests, society's problems to be dealt with by society's agents, the courts.

It is significant that a justice of the highest court in the land has spoken out firmly on the campus crisis: "Anarchy is anarchy," said Thurgood Marshall the other day, "and it makes no difference who practices it. It is bad, it is punishable and it should be punished."

Blessed Be the Militants

On Sunday, May 4th, Mr. James Forman of SNCC fame went to church. This news will no doubt delight his mother, but his visit failed to gladden the 1,500 parishioners of Riverside Church in Manhattan gathered for communion service. For Mr. Forman did not go to church to keep holy the Sabbath but to present the congregation and clergy with a manifesto drawn up by something called the National Black Economic Conference.

His demands were delivered in the best black-militant style, a style which many believe to have been profoundly influenced by the Theater of the Absurd. Forman took over the altar, shooed away the clergymen (who were followed out by most of the parishioners), and read his statement. All churches must pay "reparations" to Negroes, because churches have "aided and abetted" in their exploitation. Riverside Church would pay extra, because of its past connection with John D. Rockefeller Jr., whose money "is still exploiting people of color all around the world."

Mr. Forman then read five sub-demands, which he magnanimously allowed the church one week to meet. Perhaps the most interesting of these: the unrestricted right of Negroes to use the church's telephones for long distance calls. "We are dead serious about our demands," he concluded, keeping a poker face. And the Rev. Dr. Ernest Campbell, senior minister, showed no signs of wanting to chuckle. Speaking in the great bubble-headed tradition of Bishop Pike and other liberal churchmen, he vouchsafed that the idea of reparations had "sound theological underpinnings." But Dr. Campbell foresaw a great danger in the whole idea. Riots in the pews? Bombs on the altar? Of course not. The militancy of Forman's stance "plays into the hands of the right-wing reactionary element in the country."

The Bright Side

I do not beam at Nixon's team.
There's been no sign from Herbert Klein.
(Otepka's in, so I should grin?)
And Robert Finch won't give an inch.
However, though I fail to glow,
It's comforting to see the string
Of writers *sick* because of Dick.

W. H. VON DREELE

Hitler for Mayor

We can think of enough reasons not to vote for John Lindsay for re-election, but there's one we evidently overlooked. Through the mails recently a considerable number of New Yorkers have been getting a communication from ECME, which turns out to be Emergency Committee on the Middle East. No names of sponsors are given, but readers are given a post office box to write to. Doing so, we learned that the interim Board of Directors consists of Professor Henry Ebel, Fordham University, Mr. A. A. Courgey of Manhattan and Dr. Julia G. Hirsch, City University of New York.

The original communication is entitled, "Jews, Israel and a Republican Mayor," from which we excerpt representative selections (emphases in original):

"The betrayal of Israel by the Nixon Administration is well under way. . . . Under Mr. Nixon the United States will be 'evenhanded' toward those who daily vow to finish Hitler's work and the remnant whom Hitler failed to destroy. . . . What American Jews must be prepared for is that the Nixon Administration will *force* Israel into a disastrous 'agreement' like the one that Eisenhower and Nixon imposed in 1956. . . . All the Nixon Administration has to do is threaten to cut off the supply of arms and spare parts to Israel, or to cut off the contributions that American Jews now make to Israel's economy, and Israel would have to agree to a catastrophic 'settlement.'

"In the face of these developments, what can we do? —as Jews, as American Jews, and as Jews who live in New York? First, let us be clear on what we *can't* do. The Jews who voted in 1968 voted *overwhelmingly* for Humphrey. Jews were a miniscule fraction among Nixon's campaign financiers. Nixon therefore feels that he owes us nothing, and that he has no chance of getting our votes in 1972. We cannot pressure Nixon by threatening the loss of what he doesn't think he could ever gain. The only pressure that makes any sense is a threat to something that Nixon wants and stands a chance of getting; something, moreover, that it lies in our power to influence.

"THERE IS ONLY ONE SUCH THING.

"Nixon badly wants John Lindsay to win the upcoming mayoral election in New York City. If Nixon wants to beat Ted Kennedy in 1972 he will have to appeal to *some* liberal and many middle-of-the-road voters. To do this

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he must have a 'liberal' Republican image-bearer to point to. . . . That man is John Lindsay. . . .

"If we are Jews, and if we are no more ashamed than the blacks to be militant for what we feel and believe, then our course is clear.

"NO REPUBLICAN WILL GET OUR VOTE IN THE MAYORAL ELECTION THIS YEAR.

"And what is important, we will let Mr. Nixon know our decision in this matter. . . ."

It would be fascinating to read a commentary from the Anti-Defamation League on the rhetoric of this modest Appeal to Reason.

Bella Dodd, RIP

Bella Dodd, who died last week, went to Communism as a young lawyer in New York in the late Thirties, having become the leader of the Communist-dominated New York Teachers Union. She broke, finally, in 1949. More precisely, she was kicked out, her stirrings against the Stalinists having become noticeable. But it was a while before she could mobilize herself to the agonizing life of the anti-Communist. That was during the McCarthy years, and the anti-McCarthy backlash hit her hard, so that she ended her life not the distinguished lawyer and teacher that she would no doubt have been had she merely modulated her pro-Communism. She was broke, and dispirited, though she kept pulling herself off the floor of the ring to fight again. She did her best to atone for her past—to a community as indifferent to her contrition, as it had been to her offenses. Her friends will miss her, as also those who know at least the spiritual importance of her odyssey.

Notes & Asides

■ The extraordinary interest shown in the Great Revelations of the House Committee on Undemocratic Activities (*NR*, April 22) prompts us to publish the commercial order form of OPUM (Our People's Underworld Movement), recently seized from an old barn in Massachusetts. We learn that, far from being intimidated by the exposures of HCUA, OPUM is going right on, selling its subversive merchandise, out of Box 1028, Larchmont, New York 10538. We reproduce in its entirety that order form, pending the abolition of this threat to our democratic freedoms, which abolition do not forget to urge upon your local military-industrial complex.

■ OUR PEOPLE'S Underworld is a small but friendly conspiracy united by a hearty dislike for THEY. Unless The Authorities learn of our existence and Take Steps, we will offer fine conspiratorial equipment at modest (but profitable) prices.

Wear OPU buttons (deadly to Gnostics) and feel *safe from heresy*. Use OPU notepads and cards to form your own underground, grok, slay orcs, or get even with SDS.

Remember: Every OPU item you buy and *use* hastens the day when THEY will be driven back in Confusion (their ancient refuge) and annihilated.

■ Please note the quantity of each item you wish on this form and enclose payment with order. Minimum $1; all orders ppd. Please print.

Name .....

Address ..... Enclosed: $.....

City/State ..... for

[ ] member's 20% discount. ( ) buttons .....

( ) cards .....

Member # ..... ( ) notepads .....

■ Check here [ ] and enclose $3 to join The OUR PEOPLE'S Underworld Movement, "Vanguard of the Individualist Class." Members get a special card and button, and a 20 per cent discount on all OPU goods including *SNAFU*, forthcoming Movement Newsless Letter. And other stuff.

OPU Buttons—3 for $1, 20 for $5

_____EAT GRAPES
_____Don't let THEM immanentize the Eschaton
_____Hands Off Nut Groups!
_____Sing & Dance the New Deal Away
_____The Commodore will rise again
_____Every joyous Calorie cries YEA to Life
_____Post Office Liberation Front
_____Nuke the Chinks

OPU CARDS—25¢ each, all 7 for $1; 50 for $5

_____FLAT EARTH Party ("co-founder")
_____INFORMED SOURCES press card
_____Stick it in Their Ear card
_____HATE GROUPS correspondent
_____Burn the Polls, Ye Sons of Freedom card
_____FAT JAP A.D.L. Protest card
_____AFL-CIO (O.P. style)
[ ] All 7 cards $1.

OPU Notepads—2 for $1, 12 for $5. Indicate quantity:

_____FAT JAP Anti-Defamation League
_____Committee to Abolish Sadness
_____National Committee To Stick it in Their Ear
_____SIMPLE SOLUTIONS, Inc.
_____First Evangelical and Reformed RAND, BRANDEN and HOLY GALT Church
_____RADIO FREE BRONX
_____MOON MULLINS Study Group and Choral Society
_____World Council of Churches Boutique
_____POST OFFICE LIBERATION FRONT
_____St. Trinian's SUPPORT YOUR LOCAL POLICE Sewing Circle
_____Persons in a Position to Know, Inc.
_____INFORMED SOURCES (press agency)
_____Guaranteed Annual Prestige
_____Horizontal Research Institute
_____CREDIT MOBILIER Investment Company
_____The FLAT EARTH Party
_____Fraternal Order of Hate Groups
_____All-American Naysayers' Workshop
_____Council of Armed Rabbis
_____ALLIANCE OF LIBERTARIAN IMPERIALISTS
[ ] All 20 notepads, $8.

—WFB

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JAMES BURNHAM

THE PUEBLO SYNDROME

THE THIRD WORLD WAR

I will assume that electronic surveillance by ship and aircraft off potentially enemy coasts is a necessary security measure. (I note, however, that this is a rather large assumption. We all know how easy it is for some new piece of gadgetry to come to seem necessary. What could be more necessary than that expensive Xerox machine churning out copies by the thousand, though the firm somehow managed to get along well enough all those years without it?)

Restarting from the assumption of necessity, it is obvious that in the pre-Pueblo period the military commanders, having said A, had failed to say B. They sent the Pueblos on their missions without regard for what might happen to such missions in such a world as we live in. The *Pueblo*, though loaded to the gills with secret gear, secret data, secret codes and men whose heads were stuffed full of secrets, had neither speed to run from an enemy nor weapons to fight him nor self-destruct devices to thwart him nor nearby support to call on for protection or retaliation. More astonishing even: the commander of the *Pueblo* did not have a doctrine covering the kind of incident in which he found himself, nor, by the evidence, did *his* commanders.

Nothing and Again Nothing

Some changes were made, naturally enough, after that experience, and the situation of the flying Pueblo, fifteen months later, was not identical with that of its sea-borne predecessor. The first time, there had been no effective military support in range. There were no nearby naval units; the few serious U.S. aircraft on nearby fields were armed with nuclear weapons against quite other contingencies. The second time, there were squadrons of F-4s and Mach 2 F-106s on the alert at fields a few minutes away from the intercept. U.S. radar was plotting the flight of the EC-121M and had first observed the approach of the two North Korean MiG-21s more than fifteen minutes before the U.S. plane was shot down. There were powerful naval vessels, including at least one aircraft carrier, near at hand.

Nevertheless, nothing was done this second time, any more than the first. There was no attempt to defend the menaced plane or, if that proved impossible, to retaliate by shooting down the two attacking MiGs, which—technically—was unquestionably possible. Nor has there been any other retaliation. The dispatch of the big task force was just expensive and pointless thrashing around.

How could this be? The first Pueblo incident was puzzling enough, but to have a second is almost incredible. In the second incident the field commanders had forces adequate for a response and got the relevant information in plenty of time. But the field commanders had no authority to order their forces into action. The order had to come from the top. The EC-121M was shot down a little before midnight EST. But it was 1 A.M. (according to *Aviation Week & Space Technology*) before word reached Henry Kissinger, and another two hours before Kissinger decided to wake up the President.

The handling of the first Pueblo incident might be partly excused on the ground of novelty, but the addition of a second incident suggests the most discouraging thoughts.

The maximum warning time for a nuclear missile attack would be less than thirty minutes. How, on the evidence of these incidents, would our command communications system cope with that interval?

What about the command structure itself? There doesn't seem to have been much change there from the McNamara super-centralized control of field operations. There's no point in having forces available if the system vetoes their use. Granted that ordering their use would have been a serious step. That should have been anticipated by supplying the field commanders with a relevant doctrine.

The reliance on super-gadgetry instead of men, brain and will, again raises the wider question posed also by our Vietnam operations. May not our armed forces be getting bogged down in machinery—both technical and administrative machinery? It is notorious that the ratio of combat troops to support elements is lower by far in the U.S. than in any other armed force. Is our military establishment indeed becoming, as some strategists believe, a dinosaur?

As in the first Pueblo incident, the Pentagon tried to excuse itself last month by protesting that nobody had ever before done anything like this. One asks: With whom does the Navy think it is dealing? Is this all the Navy and the Joint Chiefs have learned about Communist regimes in 52 years?

Pueblos on the Campus

Reflection arrives at a still more disturbing notion. The quality, the *gestalt*, of these two incidents is much the same as the quality of the confrontations in our universities, churches, conferences and public buildings. In all these cases, the will of the responsible authorities is fragmented, wavering, paralyzed. There is never a quick, firm response. We never planned for this sort of thing because students/nations never before acted this way; we must be sure we're not going off half-cocked before all the facts are in; we cannot risk being provocative by calling the police or air squadron; there is danger of triggering a more general riot or war; someone might get killed if we tried to oust the armed students or rescue the crew by force; we might alienate the faculty or world opinion. . . .

If this is really going to be the national scenario, the play has only one possible ending. □

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COVER STORY

Population also means power, says Colin Clark, and warns that the startling decline in the U.S. birthrate in the past decade could have serious consequences in the years ahead. Russia, he says, is also in trouble

World Power and Population

COLIN CLARK

THERE ARE many obvious things which we take for granted, of which however it is necessary to remind ourselves occasionally; not only in order to obtain a better understanding of our situation; but also because what is obviously true today has an awkward way of ceasing to be true tomorrow.

Let us begin with one of these obvious statements. The United States is a world power. What precisely do we mean by this? It means that statesmen all over the world, planning their countries' foreign policies, have to take into account what the United States may think or do; indeed further, that the United States is in a position to influence, by methods ranging from tactful suggestions to open threats, events anywhere in the world. (It is of course by no means implied that it is either wise or expedient for the United States always so to intervene; or that past decisions to intervene, or not to intervene, have always been soundly judged.) In this sense, it is clear, the United States is a world power, and Mexico is not—important though Mexico's foreign policy decisions may be to her immediate neighbors.

It is another well-known fact that the United States now has a population of 202 million, and Mexico under 50 million. The facts of world power and of population are inescapably connected. Americans sometimes like to think that it is their advanced industrial technology, rather than the size of their population, which makes them a world power. Switzerland has an industrial technology comparable with that of the United States; Soviet Russia comparable with that of Mexico. Soviet Russia is a world power, and Switzerland is not. Some people have yielded to the superficial theory that, in these days of nuclear and other advanced weaponry, size of population has ceased to matter. Indeed, it probably matters more than before, as the historical table below will show. The technical ability to produce advanced weapons is only one element in a country's ability to become a world power. Equally necessary are the very large economic resources needed to produce and maintain them. The size of a country's population also plays an important part in its ability to exert economic, political or cultural influence in the world; or indeed, to construct adequate defenses or retaliatory measures against nuclear warfare or, if the worse comes to the worst, to recover from its consequences.

Looking at the world situation in four succeeding centuries, it is indeed possible to specify the "ante" (if one may use a card player's word) required for entering the grim contest of world politics.

It is true that many idealistic Americans, up to 1917, thought that it was possible and desirable, while being militarily prepared, to stay outside the "world power game." But later generations have concluded that a powerful country may owe a real duty to the rest of the world to enter world politics on certain occasions; or indeed that those who think that they can stay out of the world power game are in some danger of becoming subjugated to those who actively play it.

The reader will see that this excludes countries which have largely or completely isolated themselves from dealings with other countries, such as seventeenth-century India, China or Japan; or are ruled by another country, as was eighteenth- and nineteenth-century India; or are in a state of internal political confusion, as were nine-

Populations Required for World Power Status

(millions)

1670 (Minimum 1 million)		**1770** (Minimum 6 million)	
Turkey	25	Russia	33
France	20	Turkey	30
Russia	16	France	24
Spain-Portugal	7	Austria	20
England	6	U.K.	14
Poland	5	Spain	9
Netherlands	1	Prussia	6
1870 (Minimum 27 million)		**1970** (Minimum 100 million)	
Russia	78	China	670
Germany	41	India	550
Austria-Hungary	40	USSR	245
U.S.A.	39	U.S.A.	205
France	36	Indonesia	120
U.K.	31	Pakistan	110
Italy	27	Japan	100

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teenth-century China and Turkey.

It is true that seventeenth-century military equipment was vastly simpler than that of the present century. But it must be remembered also that the economic ability to produce it was relatively even more retarded. So we get the paradoxical result that in the seventeenth century two nations of small population, economically advanced by the standards of the time, Sweden and the Netherlands, were able to create, respectively, the most powerful army and navy of their times, and to be leading world powers. (The Dutch indeed were then wealthy enough to be able to obtain as large an army as they wanted by hiring Germans at sixpence a day.) The Swedish Empire, which covered a large part of Northern Europe, was effectively brought to an end by Peter the Great of Russia in the early eighteenth century. The Dutch had to retreat from New York, and lost their position as a world power, when confronted by a temporary Anglo-French alliance in the time of Charles II.

Increasing the Ante

The table for 1970 is admittedly somewhat forward-looking. There may be statesmen now who, in planning their foreign policy, do not think that they need take into account what China, Indonesia or Japan might think about it. But they will be imprudent if they do not do so.

It cannot be denied, however, that the "ante" is increasing rapidly, at least fourfold per century. We really should be asking ourselves what the position will be in a hundred, or even in fifty, years' time.

Population changes, in spite of all the superficial talk about "population explosion," do not come suddenly. A demographic change, whether in an upward or downward direction, takes more than a century to work out all its consequences; and those who recommend or try to bring about such changes should bear in mind that they are carrying some responsibility for events at least a century into the future. The present size of the American population has been achieved, in the superficial sense of the word, by the present generation of Americans, and by those of the recent past. But the decisions which really made the difference were those of the nineteenth-century immigrants who had the courage to leave their homelands, and of the hardy Midwestern pioneers who brought up large families under austere circumstances.

From the point of view of becoming a world power it is of importance to build up a population, and to preserve it in a political union. If it had not been for the hundreds of thousands of Americans who fought and died to preserve the Union in 1861-65, or had they been unsuccessful, there can be no doubt that the political face of the world now would be immeasurably different from what it is—and, almost certainly, for the worse. It may be that in a generation's time (though there is hardly any sign of it at present) Latin Americans, Africans, even Southeast Asians may have succeeded in welding what are now weak and quarreling states into genuine political unions, which will become world powers. Within our grasp in the past two decades—though we have in fact failed to grasp it—has been the shining opportunity of creating a real political union of Western Europe, which could have played a vital part in helping to preserve a peaceful and civilized world. Responsibility for this failure will be placed by future historians, I think, upon inaction by British governments between 1945 and 1957, under Attlee, Churchill and Eden. These were the critical years during which, with British participation, a Western European political union could have been easily achieved; and it is permissible to speculate that, under these circumstances, France would have resisted the temptation to rock the boat, to which she succumbed under de Gaulle.

We cannot speculate any further on these political possibilities. But we can to some extent foresee demographic trends; and the conclusions are disquieting.

In the first place, the reader may have noticed that the population given for China in the table is considerably lower than is generally supposed. The United States Government's official advisers on this subject estimated the Chinese population at just over 600 million (somewhat higher than the Chinese census of that date) for 1953; but subsequently they have accepted unquestioningly the Chinese claim that population has been growing 2 per cent per year or more, bringing it to 850 million by 1970. It was the same group of advisers who persistently overestimated the population of Soviet Russia in the 1950s; and they are almost certainly wrong again. It is true that information about Chinese population, fertility and mortality, is extremely scanty, scattered and indirect. But some scientific analysis is possible. During the troubled period of the 1940s, population had been declining. For 1953, I estimate it at 560 million, a little below that given by the census. The rate of growth never reached anything like that officially claimed of 2.2 per cent per year. During the comparatively undisturbed 1950s, I estimated it at 1.1 per cent per year. Agricultural chaos and near-famine prevailed after "The Year of the Great Leap Forward" in 1958, and the rate of population growth probably fell to .05 per cent per year or less. There was some recovery of agriculture during the mid-1960s, due in part to some restoration of small private plots. In 1966 further chaos supervened in the form of the Cultural Revolution. The estimate of 670 million for 1970 is indeed probably on the high side. If China's future has in store a prolonged spell of ordered government and agricultural improvement, we will then see a rapid increase in population, at 2 per cent per year or even more. But it has not happened yet.

Below Replacement Level

Meanwhile, if present rates of growth persist, India's population will overtake that of China in the early 1980s.

Of the other world powers mentioned in the table, we know that population is growing at over 2 per cent per year in Pakistan. Independent critics consider that the recent census of Indonesia was reasonably accurate; and there are clear signs of agricultural recovery there. Population growth in Indonesia can be estimated at over 2 per cent per annum.

In Japan, on the other hand, while the number of births still exceed the number of deaths (present deaths being on the average those of the considerably smaller generation born some sixty years ago), the number of births now taking place falls considerably short of those required to replace the present generation of parents. Unless this situation is radically and permanently altered, the Japanese population

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must ultimately age and decline.

But what of Soviet Russia and the United States? There has been a decline in the size of family in Soviet Russia, and throughout Eastern Europe (with the exception of Rumania). In Hungary and Bulgaria the number of births is below replacement level. Though material for complete analysis is lacking, the same is now almost certainly true of Soviet Russia also. Though the process is starting later than in Japan, the consequence is none the less inevitable.

'Net Reproduction Rate'

But what of the United States? It is generally known that a heavy fall in births began in 1961, and indeed the social and propagandist pressures for its continuance are being maintained with unabated force.

There are many people who reassure themselves with the shallow fallacy that, so long as the number of births exceeds the number of deaths, they need not seriously concern themselves about a check to population growth. They fail to realize the elementary fact that the deaths now occurring (with a few exceptions) represent the passing of the generation born sixty to seventy years ago, when the United States had a very much smaller population. The critical question is the extent to which the number of children now being born suffices to replace, or enlarge, the numbers of their parents of the present generation. The indications now are that within a year or so American births will fail to replace the parents, and that the United States also, within a measurable time, will enter the cycle of population decline.

To measure, from information contemporarily available, whether the number of children being born suffices to replace their parents is, in fact, a complex mathematical problem. (The problem is easy enough when one is dealing with the past generation, when the total offspring born to the generation can readily be counted; but it is very much harder when analyzing the fertility of the generation which is still in the process of reproduction.) America has many highly skilled demographers. But, without exception, they are fervently committed to the advocacy of population restriction and they all seem unable or unwilling to measure or to criticize the consequences of the reduction of births which has already taken place.

An attempt may be made to describe in non-mathematical language the various successive methods which have been devised for making, from contemporary information, a true estimate of fertility. The reader with some familiarity with this subject must however be warned that methods believed until recently to be reliable are now known to be unreliable, and have been replaced; demographic science has been advancing rapidly.

It is easy to see that the crude birth-rate, or number of births per thousand of population, does not tell you very much. The first refinement, devised in the nineteenth century, was to measure the annual number of births per head of the female population aged between fifteen and 45, the generation actually concerned in reproduction. This method was further refined in the 1930s, by the calculation of "net reproduction rates." This ingenious method took account of the number of contemporary births to mothers under twenty, to mothers aged twenty to 24 etc. and then added them up to obtain, as it were, a snapshot picture of the reproduction of a generation, but based on a single year's evidence. Allowance was made for the proportion of children (now very small) who were expected to die before reaching maturity, to give an estimate, called the "net reproduction rate," of the extent to which a generation was failing to maintain, maintaining or enlarging itself.

The Prospects

The defect in this method is that it implicitly assumes, as the discerning reader may have observed, that ages at marriage do not significantly change. One effect of the war years in the 1940s was that there was an acceleration of marriage in many countries, and the tendency to the reduction of the age of marriage has persisted, for other reasons. When the age of mar-

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riage is changing, the method of net reproduction rates completely breaks down.

The next step forward was taken by the American demographer, Whelpton, who introduced into his methods of calculation the sensible assumption that parents, having had a child, were less likely to have another in the immediate future. He divided all the women of reproductive age into "cohorts" i.e., the generation born in each succeeding year, and then analyzed their reproductive performance, taking all their past offspring into account, to measure the extent to which they were replacing themselves. Whelpton's method made it clear that it was the cohorts born between 1900 and 1910 who were the least reproductive—and this is not all to be blamed on the Great Depression, because most of them reached marriageable age during the 1920s. The cohorts born during the two subsequent decades showed considerably higher reproductivity.

America: Falling Behind

But Whelpton's method has two drawbacks. The first is that his curves require extrapolation, a difficult mathematical procedure at best, and always likely to lead to error. The second and more serious objection is that it conceals an underlying assumption that families know in advance how many children they are going to have and how they are going to be spaced, and that therefore the observation of their record over a limited number of years makes it possible to predict their final totals. While this is true for most times, it breaks down in a period of violent change of reproductivity, such as has occurred since 1961.

About the same time, a quite different method was pioneered by Karmal in Australia, namely the method of "marriage-duration specific fertilities." This takes account of another obvious fact, that most children are born in the early years of marriage. If the duration of the parents' marriage is registered at the time of the child's birth (not all countries do this), and the number of marriages is also recorded, it is possible to sum the specific fertilities for each year of duration of marriage. These can then be extrapolated, without serious risk of error, to predict the expected total offspring of the marriages of recent years. Unfortunately the American system of registration does not lend itself to this method. Furthermore, American statistics of marriages are incomplete; and in any case made much more difficult to handle by the high proportion of divorces and re-marriages, as compared with other countries.

The best method now available for analyzing contemporary information in order to estimate the final reproductivity of a generation was devised in 1953 by Henry, of the Institut National des Etudes Démographiques in Paris, the method of "probability of family enlargement." Unlike Whelpton's cohort method, this method does not make the assumption that parents plan their offspring and their spacing in advance, but rather the opposite, namely that they change their minds drastically from year to year. It is a method of considerable mathematical elegance. In non-mathematical language it can best be described as a method of analyzing succeeding drop-outs. Out of each generation, in the first place, a certain small proportion will die before reaching maturity, and these can be counted. At the next stage we need not, if we do not wish to, or if we do not have the information, calculate those who drop out of the race without marrying. We make our next count for those who fail to have even one child—less than 10 per cent. Of those who have had one child, however, some 20-30 per cent or more drop out without having a second child. These in their turn show a 35-40 per cent drop-out without having a third child. After the third child the drop-out proportion remains curiously constant for subsequent children; but it must be remembered that we now are dealing with a greatly reduced number of parents, and the contribution of these few large families to the total of reproduction is not very great.

Percentage by which current U.S. number of births exceeds number required to replace parental generation

1959	32
1960	33
1961	32
1962	27
1963	25
1964	22
1965	14
1966	10
1967	8
1968	2

The application of Henry's method required some detailed tables showing the distribution over past years of first births which might be expected to produce a second birth this year, of second births likely to produce a third birth, etc. The official tabulations of births by order unfortunately are always considerably delayed, and it is not therefore possible to make complete calculations fully up to date. Use is therefore made of the recognized demographic device of taking "standard rates" of the numbers and time distribution of first births expected to the rising generation, of second births expected to those who have already had a first, etc., and then of comparing actual births with those predicted from the "standard rates." To bring it up to date, this method requires a limited extrapolation, unlikely to lead to serious error, of the numbers of recent births of given order. (*See box.*)

Unless there is a very drastic reversal of trend, the number of American births will very shortly fall below replacement rate. And this has happened in less than a decade from the time when they were providing for a one-third increase in the size of the generation.

The advent of oral contraceptives may have played a part in this extraordinary movement. But other forces must have been at work. In the first place, oral contraceptives were not abundant in 1961. Secondly, a marked downward movement began at almost exactly the same time in many other countries, including Soviet Russia where, so far as is known, oral contraceptives are not available.

In France and England, however, the downward movement started later, in 1965, and has been more moderate, and births in those countries are still 15-20 per cent above replacement rate.

We conclude by looking back at our world power table. It is of course always possible that powerful political confederations will be formed in time in Europe, Latin America, Africa and Southeast Asia, to create a new balance of power in the world. But at present, it does not look probable, on the face of it. As far as we can see it now, the prospects for fifty years hence are of a world in which both the United States and Soviet Russia have fallen out of the race, a world dominated by the Asian countries, with India and China in the lead, and Pakistan and Indonesia as the runners-up. □

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Mr. Hazlitt shows the effect of the existing import quotas and foreign investment controls on the American consumer/taxpayer and says that, on the whole, tariffs would seem to be preferable. Best of all, of course, is free trade

The New Protectionism

HENRY HAZLITT

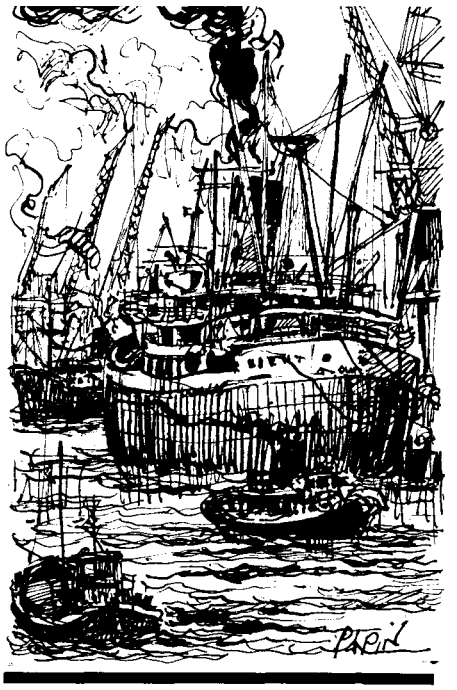
NEVER BEFORE in history has such all-but-universal lip-service been paid to the principles of free trade. Academic economists, Right or Left, old or "new," render homage to them. The statesmen of the West all profess to want at least "freer" trade. Since World War II they have called countless international conferences, and passed numberless pious resolutions, to bring this end to pass. Yet never before in history have so many countries erected so many obstacles in the path of international trade.

The case for free trade is now so obvious that one is half ashamed to state it. And it has already been stated so brilliantly by the classical economists that a modern advocate finds it difficult to avoid the temptation either to quote or to plagiarize.

Few have improved on the eighteenth-century exposition of Adam Smith. He built his case on one elementary proposition: "In every country it always is and must be the interest of the great body of the people to buy whatever they want of those who sell it cheapest."

In 1848 John Stuart Mill was pointing out that:

> The only direct advantage of foreign commerce consists in the imports. A country obtains things which it either could not have produced at all, or which it must have produced at a greater expense of capital and labor than the cost of the things which it exports to pay for them. . . . The vulgar theory disregards this benefit, and deems the advantage of commerce to reside in the exports: as if not what a country obtains, but what it parts with, by its foreign trade, was supposed to constitute the gain of it.
>
> [This is] a surviving relic of the Mercantile Theory, according to which, money being the only wealth, selling or, in other words, exchanging goods for money was . . . the only way of growing rich—and importation of goods, that is to say, parting with money, was so much subtracted from the benefit.



In the same decade that Mill wrote this, Frédéric Bastiat published in France his devastating satire, "The Petition of the Candlemakers against the Competition of the Sun," in which the Chamber of Deputies is asked to pass a law requiring the closing of all windows, shutters, chinks, and all openings by which the light of the sun can enter houses, because of the economic blessings this would bring through increased business for the candlemakers and their associated trades and employees.

It is seldom that a modern economist ventures to defend protectionism. John Maynard Keynes did so fleetingly in an article in the *Yale Review* in 1933: "Let goods be homespun whenever it is reasonably and conveniently possible, and above all let finance be primarily national." Yet just ten years before that Keynes had argued eloquently: "We must hold to Free Trade, in its widest interpretation, as an inflexible dogma, to which no exception is admitted. . . . We should hold to Free Trade as a principle of international morals, and not merely as a doctrine of economic advantage."

In the face of this historic record, and of the lip-service that continues to be paid to Free Trade by professional economists, how can we explain the present ominous revival of protectionism in practice?

Ironically enough, we can explain part of it by the determination of the world's statesmen after World War II to restore "international cooperation." This determination led to several multilateral agreements of the first importance. One was the complex of Bretton Woods agreements of 1944. Another was the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) signed in 1947, to which 66 nations became parties.

Each in its own way was a major mistake, though it is important to be clear what the mistake was.

In the case of GATT, the government bureaucrats who participated in the negotiations nearly all shared a wrong assumption. Each believed that the advantage of foreign trade, so far as his own country was concerned, consisted in the exports. Each offered to lower his own country's tariffs, not in order to allow his own country's consumers to get foreign goods cheaper, but as a *concession* to foreign governments, in return for an equal or greater concession that the foreign country might grant to his own country's exports.

The emphasis of each negotiator was on the increased export markets he might obtain for his own country, not

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on the increased or cheaper imports that his countrymen might be able to obtain. After all, each country could have let down its own tariff barriers any time it wanted to; it did not need an international conference or a GATT to do that. The deal was: We'll (reluctantly) lower our tariff barriers as a favor to *you*, if you'll lower your tariffs as a favor to *us*.

Long international bargaining sessions, lasting for months, were held in 1947, in 1949, in 1950-51, in 1955, in 1956, and (with recess) in 1960-62. Finally came the Kennedy Round, which formally opened in May of 1964. It was triumphantly concluded in May of 1967, with the announcement that nearly fifty countries, accounting for about 80 per cent of world trade, had agreed to an average cut in their tariffs of about one-third.

Because no country trusted the intention of other countries to keep their tariffs down, each country had to bind itself by solemn treaty to the rates agreed upon. But as the individual countries were still imbued with a protectionist philosophy, the next step was to look for loopholes. And so today the non-tariff barriers to trade—such as red tape, border taxes, exchange controls, import licensing, quotas and outright prohibitions — are greater than ever, and make many of the tariff concessions worthless.

Administrative Jungle

LET US LOOK at one of the worst of these non-tariff barriers — import quotas.

In sugar, import quotas are now an old story. They were adopted in 1933, ostensibly as an anti-depression measure, when Congress decided to include sugar as a "basic commodity" under the Agricultural Adjustment Act. As domestic producers were subjected to crop control, it seemed an inescapable corollary to impose import quotas on each of the foreign suppliers also. These quotas were a percentage of each foreign supplier's previous sugar exports to us. Cuba was especially favored.

Because the quantitative import restrictions have kept the American domestic price considerably higher than the world price, exporters get higher prices on the sugar they sell to the U.S. than they get elsewhere. Each foreign exporting country, therefore, is getting a subsidy from U.S. consumers in proportion to the size of its sugar quotas. The result is that every time the sugar quotas come up for discussion in Congress, foreign countries send lobbyists to try to increase the relative size of their respective quotas. The system multiplies our diplomatic problems.

The quotas have been, of course, enormously more expensive and complicated to administer than the previous uniform protective tariff that applied equally to every sugar importer. The technique has been for the Department of Agriculture each year to set a total market quota deemed sufficient to supply the average per capita consumption plus a normal carryover. This is then divided into market quotas for each producing area, domestic and foreign. This eventually backs up into individual quotas for each individual producer.

It hardly needs to be pointed out that if we were now once more to impose a simple uniform duty on sugar equal to the present difference between the American and the world price we could abolish overnight this fantastically elaborate network of controls, turn the tax on the American sugar consumer into revenue for the government instead of for foreign sugar producers, and still give as much protection to our domestic sugar producers as they have now.

This would still be protectionism, but a far less vicious form, and one that might gradually be tapered off. But the retention of the sugar quotas (with a few suspensions) for 36 years, in spite of mounting complications and even periods of world shortage of sugar, is one more illustration of how the network of vested interests created by such controls makes it politically all but impossible ever to get rid of them.

In 1959 President Eisenhower imposed mandatory quotas on oil imports. The precedent of the sugar import quotas undoubtedly influenced the decision, though the ostensible reason for the oil quotas was far different. Their announced purpose was not to raise the price of domestic oil (though of course they did), but "national security"—the need for "conservation."

The import restrictions seem calculated to accomplish the exact opposite. Shortly after World War II the American Navy purchased substantial amounts of Middle Eastern oil expressly to "reduce the drain on our essential reserves at home." At the time the import restrictions were imposed the U.S. was already consuming 54 per cent of the free world's total oil consumption, though it had only 13 per cent of the free world's reserves. The import restriction program demands that our high-cost domestic oil be consumed instead of low-cost foreign oil. Instead of conserving our oil resources the program expends them.

Even the Department of the Interior now estimates the cost of protecting domestic oil production at about $2-billion a year. Others estimate the consumer cost of our oil import restrictions at double this figure, or more than $4 billion a year. This calculation is based on the difference between the domestic price of oil and the cost of foreign oil at East Coast ports, which is about $1.25 per barrel less.

Under the quota system we imported 475 million barrels of crude oil in 1968 (about one-eighth of our total consumption). The companies that have been granted import permits, therefore, are in effect getting a federal subsidy of $1.25 per barrel—to a total of about $590 million a year.

Now if restricting imports of oil is in fact necessary to our national security, the same result could be far better achieved by abolishing the import quotas entirely and imposing instead a tariff on oil of $1.25 a barrel. This would have at least three advantages over the present quota system: 1) instead of forcing American consumers to pay a subsidy of $590 million a year to a favored group of oil importers, that revenue would go to the U.S. Government, and (hopefully) allow a corresponding reduction of taxes somewhere else; 2) competition would be restored at least among oil importers; and 3) a tariff would be more flexible, and easier to abolish.

This is not to concede that an import tariff on petroleum is now justified. It is merely to point out that it would be far less vicious than the present import quota system. It would be simpler and less costly to administrate; it would not create such company-by-company favoritism; and it would be far less likely to breed corruption.

Administrative Nightmare

IMPORT quota schemes, once embarked upon, are contagious. When one industry sees another protected by import quotas, it finds it hard to understand why it is not entitled to the same favors. So in recent months and years both the steel industry and the textile trade have been lobbying for a mandatory quota system.

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The problems of the steel industry are today undeniably serious; but it has plumped for one of the worst solutions. It makes no economic sense whatever (to say nothing of the moral aspect) for the U.S. to negotiate and bind itself to reciprocal tariff reductions, and then to nullify those reductions by the totalitarian device of import quotas. If oil import quotas are an administrative jungle, steel import quotas would be an administrative nightmare. There would have to be individual quotas for each of the whole catalogue of steel mill products—sheet and strip, wire rods, pipe and tubing, structural shapes, plates, wire and wire products, bars, and so on. Who would be the favored importers, specially licensed to buy specified steel products at the foreign price, while everybody else had to pay the higher American price?

A simple old-fashioned protective tariff schedule would at least be nondiscriminatory for domestic buyers, and the difference between the foreign and domestic price on the steel imported would go to the government rather than to a handful of subsidized importers.

At the moment I write this, our government has bureaucrats abroad trying to secure an international agreement under which all countries that export textiles to the U.S. would "voluntarily" allow us to impose import quotas on their woolens and synthetic textiles, so that we could freeze our imports of these textiles at their 1968 levels. The administrative, political and economic problems that such quotas would create would obviously be as great as those created by quotas in steel.

Artificial Controls

BUT EVEN the evil effects of the quota system are overshadowed today by the much wider economic disruption caused by exchange controls and controls over international investment.

These controls are imposed ostensibly to stop or at least reduce the deficit in our balance of payments. By a "deficit" in the "balance of payments" is meant the excess of the amount of money that goes out of a country to pay for what it buys abroad over the amount of money that comes into the country to pay for what it has sold abroad.

Now never before in human history have so many governments been so chronically obsessed by the state of their countries' "balance of payments." They are perpetually worrying about the amount of money that their citizens have spent abroad, and perpetually forgetting that they have *bought* something with it. The money has not been lost; it has not been stolen; it has simply been exchanged for goods or services that people preferred. The bureaucrats are acting as if their citizens were recklessly sending their money out of the country to buy unneeded foreign luxuries or to make unsound and unnecessary foreign investments, and will suddenly wake up one dark morning to find that they have not left themselves enough money to buy necessities at home.

As the reader will recognize from the statement I quoted earlier from John Stuart Mill, this fear of a nation's running out of money, combined with forgetfulness that something has been voluntarily bought with it, is the essence of the seventeenth-century mercantilism that Adam Smith and his classical successors were thought to have once and for all discredited.

The New Protectionism is the child of the New Mercantilism. Prior to World War I, and even in large part prior to World War II, any undesired deficit or surplus in the balance of payments among nations quickly corrected itself. What happened under a gold standard was that a nation with a deficit in its balance of payments lost gold. This led to a contraction in its volume of currency and credit, and to an increase in domestic interest rates. As a result, prices of commodities (relatively) fell in that country. This made it a more attractive market to buy from and a less attractive market to sell to, thus stimulating its exports and discouraging its imports. In addition, its relatively higher interest rates tended both to discourage lending of its own funds abroad and to attract funds from abroad.

A similar self-correction of the balance of payments occurred even under a pure paper-money system by exchange controls. If a country inflated its paper money, its internal prices rose. But at the same time, in free exchange markets, the price of its currency dropped in terms of other currencies. If Ruritania doubled its money issue, its internal prices might double. But then the price of the rurita, say, would probably fall to half its previous level in terms of other currencies. So the price of Ruritania's goods, in terms of the currencies of other countries, would not materially change. The foreign exchange markets automatically compensated for relative differences in internal inflations.

The Bretton Woods agreements of 1944, setting up the International Monetary Fund—combined with the gold-exchange system, central banks, welfare state and "economic growth" policies, and the agreement of each member country to keep its currency constantly pegged to within 1 per cent of its official parity—inevitably created chronic balance-of-payments problems in nearly all nations and systematically prevented the self-correcting market forces from operating.

The French economist Jacques Rueff has blamed this result mainly on the gold-exchange standard. Under the full gold standard, he points out, the coun-

"Get over to the Israeli embassy fast! They just retaliated!"

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try that lost gold suffered a contraction in its money supply and was almost automatically forced to deflate. But with the gold-exchange standard, under which foreign central banks can include paper dollars as part of their reserves along with gold, the U.S. need merely ship out paper dollars to satisfy its debts. It need not lose gold; it can merely print more dollars to take the place of those sent abroad. In a word, the debtor country does not lose what the creditor country gains; and the tendency is to produce a world inflation, with the constant emission of more and more paper currency everywhere against a comparatively fixed quantity of gold.

All this is true. But the gold-exchange standard (built into the Bretton Woods agreements) is not the sole cause of world inflation and balance-of-payments problems. A world of welfare states is a world of chronic budget deficits. And chronic budget deficits are chronically met by the issuance of more paper money. Central banks everywhere have become official inflation factories; they are the instruments through which a nation's money supply is expanded. When a nation "loses" money through purchases abroad, the central bank prints more money to replace it.

In free exchange markets the quotations of the currencies of deficit or debtor countries would fall and the quotations of the currencies of surplus or creditor countries would rise. This would correct the surplus or deficit. But under the IMF system, each government pledges itself to peg its currency within 1 per cent of a pre-fixed "parity." Therefore no market correction is allowed to take place. And as every country is inflating at a different rate, chronic balance-of-payments problems are guaranteed.

A persistent and undesired deficit in the balance of payments is always and everywhere the result of the government's own fiscal and monetary policies. But the government will never admit this, so it blames its own citizens, and particularly its own bankers and businessmen.

The Kennedy and Johnson Administrations decided to put the chief blame on foreign investment. Their first major control, imposed in 1964, was a penalty tax on purchases by Americans of foreign securities. To make such

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History Quiz for the Young Revolutionary

JEAN JEFFRIES

1. Fill in the blanks in this *New York Times* description of an activist rally:
"The hall was decorated with gigantic __(a)__ flags and __(b)__ slogans such as 'The System Must Die so the People Can Live,' 'Freedom and __(c)__,' 'Fight for __(d)__ Socialism' . . ."
2. What revolutionary leader said of what President:
". . . old man, you should withdraw, since you can no longer cover up those who want to destroy us. The system does not shrink from shielding itself behind an old man in an effort to escape the reckoning that is due. The people are now going to judge the system. When we examine its working we see only catastrophe after catastrophe, misery and suffering"?
3. What revolutionary said of tactics:
"We should not work in secret conventicles, but in mighty mass demonstrations, and it is not by [political assassination] that the road can be cleared for the movement but *by the conquest of the streets*. We must teach [our opponents] that the future *master of the streets* is [our movement], just as it will some day be the master of the state"?
4. What book written for the political indoctrination of young people gives this picture of the citizen's role in society:
"Without regard to place, every [nationalist] anywhere can cooperate by thought and deed in political, cultural and economic upbuilding. The common world outlook is the indestructible bond which binds our people's leaders and followers to the common task. The past knew no such cooperation of all comrades in forming the community life of our people"?
5. The consul general of what country, in a May Day speech in Brooklyn, called what other country a "citadel of reaction" which denied partnership to all "young, energetic and valuable elements," and declared:
"It is not [that country] who is fighting for the freedom and progress of peoples but [my country]. It is [that country] which, with her monopoly of power, restrains or suppresses freedom and progress everywhere in the world where she considers it useful to [her] interests"?
6. Workers of what post-revolutionary country, although deprived of their trade-union rights, reportedly joked over their full dinner pails "that at least under [their new leader] there was no more freedom to starve"?
7. What revolutionary movement had as its slogan, "Common good before personal advancement"?
8. Multiple choice. What militant country did pacifist A. J. Muste refer to as being just "another dynamic nation which has other ideas as to who should have the last word in international affairs"?
   a. Russia
   b. China
   c. Germany
   d. Cuba
9. Fill in the blank in this excerpt from a *Christian Century* article:
"A revolution such as has occurred in _____ is possible only when the ground—unstable social and cultural conditions—in which the seeds of revolution are sown has been well prepared."
10. What group of young political activists was accused by police of plotting to "paralyze" one city's "public utilities" and make its drinking water unfit by "mixing it with aniline dyes"?
11. What best-selling book contains this justification of revolutionary violence:
"The conviction that one has the right to make use of even the most brutal force is always bound up with a fanatical faith in the necessary triumph of a new order on this earth. A movement which does not fight for the highest goals and ideals will therefore never resort to the final test of arms"?

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THE APOLLO FLIGHTS

If Verne Could Look at NASA

THOMAS SWEENEY

ONE HUNDRED YEARS before the Apollo 8 flight, Jules Verne imagined a future day on which a man-carrying missile would be fired from Florida at 28 degrees North Latitude at a calculated moment in December, would depart Earth at 25,000 miles per hour, and orbit the moon three and one half days later, without landing.

In his detailed account of this adventure, a crew of three men ride in a bullet-shaped vehicle, nine feet in diameter, fifteen feet high, weighing ten tons. They describe the sensation of weightlessness; meticulously record data on the now familiar peaks, craters, cracks and faults of the moon's surface from a height of thirty miles; conclude that it is "grey, forbidding and uninhabitable"; and jokingly decide what kind of cheese it is made of. They circle the backside, and at a precise instant, fire rockets which bring them back into the earth's gravitational field, and thus to a pre-dawn splashdown in the Pacific Ocean, their fiery re-entry of the earth's atmosphere marking their location for a retriever ship.

It is almost as though NASA had used Verne's flight of fancy as a blueprint. Yet, a study of his mathematically annotated logic indicates that, surprisingly often, he arrived at the correct conclusions for the wrong reasons. For instance, he correctly chose a point of return in the Pacific by reasoning falsely that that ocean could best provide the depth needed to cushion the great shock of return, as counteracting water pressure gradually arrested the plunge of the sealed capsule and then returned it to the surface as a floating object.

Was Verne clairvoyant in the sense that Nostradamus may have been? Or were these lucky hits the kind of deserved luck winners are always accused of having? Did he stand so tall that he could actually stand off in Time and thus, unencumbered by contemporary thinking, make luck work for him as he projected the knowledge of his day into the future?

Remember that this Frenchman did not, with patriotic zeal or puerile logic, select the top of Mont Blanc for the point of departure. With all the world to choose from he picked Florida as the place and determined almost exactly the parallel of latitude in that state from which Apollo was destined to blast off.

He argued that "the audacious go-ahead-iveness of the Yankee" would make America the country most likely to provide capital for so overwhelming and daring a project; and that Texas and Florida were the only states in the country near enough to the equator to be mathematically feasible choices. The sparsity of population in the peninsula finally persuaded him to choose the small town of Tampa on its west coast.

It is uncanny when we note that only two other places in Florida are mentioned in his chapter weighing reasons for his final choice of site, and that one of them is Cape Canaveral, a name that must have been about as familiar to a Parisian of his day as that of Coney Island. It also lay on his chosen parallel of latitude, so we can only speculate on the fantastic bull's-eye he almost scored in spite of overlooking the effect the earth's rotation would have on the path of the missile.

Verne said that final accomplishment of his envisioned flight would "modify our history forever," and that the American people would "never rest quietly until they pushed to its last result and to every logical consequence the astounding step so daringly conceived and so wonderfully carried out."

Now that his dream has come true, what would Verne have to say, in the light of realities one hundred years later, about these "logical consequences"? Is it not possible to stand aside today, and with his perspective, project the significance of our deed into the far future with a Verne's chance of success?

There are, as he said there would be, voices throughout the land loudly questioning the value of the space program. One critic, Dr. Harold C. Kistiakowsky, who lampooned moon flights as a mere "spectator sport which appealed to man's Walter Mitty instinct for vicarious achievement" sneered that "putting a man on the moon would not compare as a scientific achievement to breaking the genetic code." How sophomoric, Verne would have thought. Breaking the genetic code, of course, is not essential to mankind, big step though it would be. Man now breeds his dogs, his horses, pigs and cows. Over a score of generations, he could apply the same husbandry to some selected specimens of homo sapiens, and eventually get the same results in case no genetic speed-up is discovered.

Nor is the breaking of the light-speed barrier essential to man's reaching other earths in outer space. Lowering of metabolism by freezing may enable him to hibernate a hundred winters while aging only one year in his future space ships; or, if necessary, successive generations may be born, be indoctrinated, breed and die en route to colonizing sites.

However, developing the mechanical means of sending out such starward arks *is* of transcendent importance if, as Verne put it, "humanity is not to resign itself to perpetual imprisonment in this little earth." Here mankind will even be survived by less intelligent, but incredibly adapted forms of life, whose social orders are a hundred million years older than his. It is generally conceded that when the last man dies on earth there will be alive some insect to crawl over and feed upon his body. But now, the last man need not die on earth.

DEEP IN MAN is the craving for immortality. What he cannot have as an individual, instinctively he seeks through his progeny, or in a kind of vicarious extension of himself in his own kind.

That is the meaning of the moon trips. They are just a first step, impelled by man's never quiet faith that there is something for him over the horizon, beyond land that is tired. The odds are vastly in his favor that if one star, as insignificant as the sun is in our galaxy, has one planet as fertile as the earth, then other stars among the billions must have satellites. From the surface of the moon, improved telescopes, unhampered by our soupy atmosphere, will

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make the next step, that of locating planets outside our solar system, less difficult than the already conquered problem of getting to them.

HISTORY PROVIDES ample evidence of this impelling force that will drive man to these new goals. The Polynesians, answering the call of the horizon, dared to set forth in tiny craft on a relatively vast and unknown ocean, all bridges cut behind, in search of remote islands that might not even be there. To be sure, it was gold that lured the Spaniards, and rich atomic ores may be the lures to justify the early explorations of our solar system. But make no mistake: the ultimate one-way voyages to colonize prospective islands in space will spring from the Polynesian kind of dreams that are beyond avarice, that raise man above the termite and its ultimate society; the kind of dreams that are the very stuff of the immortals, and far beyond the ken of mere dreamers of isms.

The hunger of man comes first, say the myopic advocates of these ideologies. There will always be a thousand of them for everyone who can see the world from the heights of a Verne, and perceive that the unrelenting purpose of Nature is not the sociological, but the evolutionary development of each species toward the perfection of its kind. For man, that means the production of future beings, physically and mentally superior to his present self, whatever may be the structure of the society in which he lives.

The ideologists put the cart before the horse when they propose remedies for our twentieth-century ills. They see the need to feed and comfort an ever-expanding population, but they sweep under the carpet the unpalatable truth that to accomplish their objective, without counteraction, is only to confound the problem by providing further room for further expansion.

Such idealists will not admit that the vacuum created *will* be filled; that Malthus remains unchallenged either by the pill or the Four Horsemen; that man procreates by geometric progression while his soil can be made to increase production only by arithmetic progression; that, even though Verne's dream of cultivating the ocean bottoms be also realized, the goal of sustaining unlimited numbers on a limited soil is vain; and finally, that mankind has virtually defied Nature by reversing the very process of natural selection through which he, himself, has evolved.

Those who take a larger look at the facts of our twentieth century must see that the worthy benevolence of social agencies and the miraculous cures of modern medicine—without remedial sterilization—have preserved and passed on hereditary defects of the individuals saved, on such a scale that already the retrogression of the American stock has become shockingly evident in draft statistics over the short period since World War I.

Nothing short of world dictatorship, under an intolerable regimen, could possibly enforce population control on a worldwide scale, stop man's despoliation of his earth, or put a stop to the proliferating pollution of his own genes.

Even if an attempt were made to save large segments of mankind in order to keep these groups at least at the present level of physical fitness, the effort would be doomed because no place of isolation could be found to quarantine such groups. A Verne would have to conclude that, barring world dictatorship, the evolution of mankind, en masse, has likely passed its zenith on earth.

The best hope of those who care about the fate of man lies in man's ability to find new worlds to colonize during his third millennium, A.D. Unlike the early colonists during the second millennium, these settlers will not be the malcontents or rejects of the old world. The selected few will be chosen for both brain and brawn, and their pedigrees scrutinized as carefully as the physical qualification charts of present astronauts.

If we rate a smart animal as having a brain magnitude of one, and a dumb man, a brain magnitude of two, then a Newton or an Einstein might be rated with a magnitude of three, it being adjudged that an Einstein is mentally as far above the moron, as the moron is above the fox. If it is further conceded that mankind may in the future apply itself to the breeding of a few selected geniuses of its own species, it is conceivable that by the time of the first colonizing efforts into space, these groups may include one or two brains, possibly of the fourth magnitude, and mankind will have been launched on his way to apotheosis.

ASSUREDLY, Verne would agree, one of these starward arks, God-guided, will some day find a fertile soil on which man's evolutionary process can begin again, starting with the cream of his earthly crop; and their offspring, like the Polynesians, move to other islands in the ocean of space; and their progeny, in turn, launch a thousand ships to colonize a thousand richer planets . . . until somewhere down the eons will come a day when yet unimagined telescopes, as to Mecca, will point back to barren, lifeless earth . . . and the eyes of brains, yes, of the tenth magnitude, will peer in awestruck homage at the tiny shrine and birthplace of the human mind.

The human mind . . . that greatest miracle of our galaxy . . . that only thinking organ which could turn itself upon itself and think of thinking . . . that sole machine, perhaps in all the universe, which had purposefully evolved itself, and found the power to seek and to abandon ephemeral environment, *mother* source of all life, but *mortal* enemy at last of her Promethean, bound creatures. □

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LETTER FROM AFRICA

Are There Any Conservative Africans?

GILBERT COMTE

In a world torn by ideology, European and American conservatives often find it hard to believe that they have friends, and good friends, among the black African nations that the Communists are trying so hard to recruit to their cause. Certainly the various national liberation fronts in Africa in recent years, from Portuguese Guinea to the Congo, justify this skepticism on the part of Western conservatives. Here and there, even now, bearded guerrillas are at work under the Marxist banner of Che Guevara or Mao Tse-tung. According to revolutionary mythology these partisans are the conscience of their peoples. And Western conservatives, seduced by this myth, only too often view the people as a whole as suspiciously as they view the guerrilla agitators. This suspicion is particularly strong among the old colonial powers—England and France—where the abrupt decolonization that followed World War II went against traditional ideas.

The African reality does not, in point of fact, add up so pessimistically. Of the 25 republics south of the Sahara that have achieved independence since 1960, only four can be classed as socialistic: the former French Congo (Brazzaville), Guinea, Mali and Tanzania. But despite massive aid from the Russians and the Chinese none of them can be classed as a satellite; not one is integrated into the revolutionary camp or subject to revolutionary discipline. True, in 1965, the government of the former French Congo broke off diplomatic relations with the United States under the pressure of an extremist faction led by Prime Minister Pascal Lissouba. But the then chief of state, Alphonse Massamba-Debat, got rid of that faction shortly thereafter and although the Congo-Brazzaville has never resumed diplomatic relations with Washington, still it keeps in very close touch with Paris, as has the military clique that replaced Massamba-Debat a year ago.

At first, Presidents Mobito Keita of Mali and Sékou Touré of Guinea aligned their countries with the Soviet bloc. This posture earned them substantial subsidies from Moscow and Peking but they have given the USSR and Red China little more than verbal support in exchange. Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere is on excellent terms with the East. But this hasn't kept him from opposing the Soviet Union on Nigeria. He recognized Biafra several months ago despite the Soviet support of Lagos.

Although both the Soviet Union and Communist China had been talking anticolonialism for a long time they were unprepared for the massive independence movements of the early Sixties. Neither of them had the cadres or the number of agents needed to be able to take over and direct these movements. This, plus their lack of proximity to sub-Saharan Africa, explains to a large extent why so many of their erstwhile allies have repulsed China and the Soviet Union in recent years.

The West has friends of major importance in the real statesmen of the new Africa — Presidents Houphouët-Boigny of Ivory Coast, Hamani Diori of Niger, Ahmadou Ahidjo of Cameroon, Léopold Senghor of Senegal and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya. The Marxist powers, recognizing this, have in the past eight years instigated disturbances in these countries, sometimes of a very bloody nature. Between 1960 and 1964, the Soviet Union supported the cruel and bloody revolt of the Bamiléké peoples in Cameroon. In April 1965, the terrorist Amadou Diop, who had been trained in subversion in North Korea and North Vietnam, tried to assassinate Niger President Hamani Diori (*NR*, June 15, 1965).

Soviet interference took other, more subtle forms as well. In the spring of 1966, when Jomo Kenyatta was cleansing his government of leftist elements, he became the target of a vicious propaganda blast in the Soviet press. In the past two years both *Pravda* and the Institute of Africa of the Soviet Academy of Sciences have aggressively attacked the Ivory Coast, which is pictured in the Soviet press as "the window of free enterprise in Africa." Just about a year ago pro-Chinese agitators touched off murderous riots in Dakar aimed at undermining the government of President Senghor. From one end of the continent to the other, these attacks continue, persistently, daringly. They are mounted against those regimes and those men who are believed by revolutionaries of all sorts to be standing in the way of Communist penetration of the continent. This in itself would seem to be evidence of sort that there are conservative leaders in Africa. The emergence of these leaders is one of the more interesting of the paradoxes that have resulted from decolonization.

With the coming of independence in 1960, leaders of the new African states were confronted with an inert mass of people whom they had to put to work in short order, or perish. There were two courses open to them. They could call forth the hidden and violent forces of xenophobic nationalism and hope for the best from such an unpredictable base, or they could move forward slowly, by stages, with the technical and political help of Europeans, even if this meant being called "neocolonialists."

The tragic end of Patrice Lumumba in the Congo illustrated the dangers of associating national movements of liberation with sorcery, witch doctors and fetishism. In the rest of what had been French Africa (with the single exception of Guinea), the leaders took a more realistic view and opted for cooperation with the West. "Our independence does not mean either a rupture with France or the departure of the French," said Hamani Diori in June 1960. "This is why I say that any individual, black or white, who looks upon independence as a signal for the departure of the French should start to prepare for his own departure from Niger."

This refusal to break with France was conservative, in the best sense. A revolutionary sees hope in all destruction. A conservative senses instinctively that what is, is precious, and perhaps irreplaceable. When President Diori and his allies decided to steer clear of revolutionary adventurism, they made a fundamentally conservative choice.

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ON CAMPUS AND OFF

The Politics of Peanut Butter

ANTHONY R. DOLAN

SAM BROWN is not, for godsakes, much of a name for a "revolutionary." Not, anyway, with gutsy nomens like "Jerry Rubin" and "Tom Hayden" around.

The name notwithstanding, Brown has had labels like "revolutionary" and "campus rebel" attached to him more than once during his extensive though young career in politics. Even when he's quoted in the *Times* these days, which is not infrequently, he seems, always, to be in the midst of some conference on the "implications of student power" and the "possibilities of revolutionizing American society."

At one such gathering at the University of Pennsylvania Brown made it starkly evident that it is not just his name that puts his credentials as a revolutionary in jeopardy. "If we think the working class in America is going to rise up and change the social order," he told his audience, "we're living in a dream world. They're just too well off and too comfortable for that. It's impractical to even think in those terms."

"I tried to make it clear," Brown added later, "that I was for nonviolent social change; and that's not too popular with my contemporaries. I didn't make many friends."

Those familiar with the background of Brown may find it unusual, perhaps amusing—perhaps ominous—that it is Sam Brown, of all people, who is today the advocate of moderation. When, for instance, he graduated from Redlands College in 1965, he was remembered not just as the president of the student body and as a widely read columnist for the student paper, but also as the undergraduate who singlehandedly terrorized the administration with his demands for an end to censorship of the school paper, permission for Communists to speak on campus, and the enactment of a bill of student rights that is comparable to the most radical editions around today. Then too it was Brown who as a vice president of the National Student Association helped blow the whistle on the CIA's funding of that organization. He bitterly attacked the intelligence agency for its interference in NSA and the entire controversy brought him a considerable amount of national attention. But Brown is perhaps best remembered as the Harvard Divinity School student who in December of 1967 walked into Eugene McCarthy's Senate office with the names of one hundred student body presidents who supported his bid for the Presidency, handed over the list, and then demanded to be put in charge of the Youth for McCarthy operation. He did, of course, get the job. And so it was Sam Brown who engineered the great Children's Crusade of 1968.

"It taught me a lot," says Brown today in his office at Harvard's Kennedy Institute of Politics, where he is on a year's study grant. "I think a good many students learned that you could be pragmatic without compromising your principles. I think they learned

that wearing a necktie or working in the "system" didn't mean you had sold out to the Establishment. Anyway, when you're trying to win votes you learn to forget the morality and talk to the people about how issues like the war affect them. Besides, just how moral can you be when you're interviewing a woman who says her son was killed in Vietnam? I never saw any radicals on doorsteps."

When he talks about the campaign, Brown emphasizes his belief that the press overplayed the image of the McCarthy worker as a hippie. "The kids who worked for McCarthy were decent, perfectly average students who were worried about what was happening to their country under Lyndon Johnson. Just the fact, for instance, that there were so many of them tends to disprove the notion that they were all freaks and radicals."

And Brown, naturally, has a pretty good idea of just how many students did leave their campuses that last semester of 1968 for weekend crusades in suburbia. As he says: "The student response to the campaign was often hard for us to believe. Sometimes we would get seventy or eighty busloads of students in one town alone. That meant planning out their work and their accommodations. The logistics were pretty rough. Believe me, they ate a lot of peanut butter sandwiches."

IT MAY BE Brown himself, though, who is the best proof there is that the "Clean for Gene" kids were a pretty clean, and a pretty normal group to begin with. He is pleasant looking, neatly dressed, quiet spoken, and has a sense of humor. He was born and raised in Council Bluffs, Iowa, which he readily describes as a "place of quiet conservatism" and, just in case you didn't know, "not the cultural center of the world." He attended the high school there and in his spare time built hot-rods and worked in his father's shoe store. Upon graduation, Brown was named outstanding cadet and company commander of his ROTC unit. He was active in his local church and like so many other of today's political activists, he got his start in politics through the civil rights movement. He then went off to Redlands College on a scholarship where he built

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NIKA STANDEN HAZELTON

CALIFORNIA WINES I LIKE

HERE IS the last about California wine. I seem to have gone on about it at great length. But the subject is big and barely touched upon, and there is enough snobbery and misunderstanding about it to make the angels weep.

Like all wine, California wine is white, red or rosé. The latter is no favorite of mine, though I admit that it is a useful all-purpose wine for the timid, pretty to look at and a pleasant chilled drink when the weather is hot. California makes some good rosés, notably those from the Grenache grape. Among these, the Almadén Grenache Rosé is the best, to my mind.

California white table wines are very good indeed. The following grape varieties are the superior ones:

Pinot Chardonnay (resembles Pouilly Fuissé or Montrachet);

Sauvignon Blanc (resembles dry Graves);

Chenin Blanc (resembles Vouvray);

Gewuerztraminer (resembles Alsatian wines);

Semillon (resembles dry Sauternes);

Johannisberg Riesling (resembles dry Rhine wines).

However, these, like all California wines, must be judged on their own, because they certainly are not entirely like European wines, however excellent. The basic resemblance is there, but the taste of the California wines is much more positive and harder. (Remember, I warned you about food writers' use of adjectives.) They don't have, as far as I have sampled, that flowery quality, that delicate balance between sweet and acid that especially the German and Alsatian wines possess and which comes as such a lovely surprise. California white wines, to my mind, do not offer specific surprises, but the general surprise of their excellent quality—or, in the case of some, their outstanding quality. Another odd thing about California white wines is that almost all the California Sauternes are dry, which is not so with French Sauternes. The ones I like the best are made from the Semillon grapes. I admire the Napa Valley Dry Sauterne made by Beaulieu Vineyards. I also think that a Livermore Haut Sauterne made with the Semillon grapes by Wente Brothers is very good indeed. This is quite a different wine from the other, on the flowery side like a Moselle, and not so dry. The word "Haut" before the Sauterne indicates that it is a sweeter wine.

Later on, I will give a list of the leading California wine growers whose products I have liked. Not all of them, because those people have to carry such complete lines of almost everything in order to survive in the American wine trade. This is where one's own sampling and taste come in. Wines that we constantly drink at home and give to our guests are the Almadén Pinot Chardonnay; the Beaulieu Vineyard Chateau Beaulieu Napa Valley Medium Sweet Sauvignon Blanc; the full-bodied Wente Sauvignon Blanc, which has a delicious spicy touch to it; and a wine with the most wonderful deep golden color, the Samuele Sebastiani Green Hungarian, the best of all the wines I know made from that grape which can be very nice, but often is not.

As among the white California wines, the Pinot Chardonnay grape will make the best wines; among the red this honor goes to Cabernet Sauvignon, the grape of the red Bordeaux wines. Experts, and European ones at that, such as Hugh Johnson, think that in time the red wines of the incredibly beautiful Napa and Sonoma valleys north of San Francisco, will take their place among the greatest in the world. Other grape varieties that yield very superior wines are, in the first place, the Pinot Noir, which is responsible for all the great Burgundies of Europe, the Gamay Beaujolais, which resembles the products of its namesake, Beaujolais, the Barbera, which makes a robust red wine like the Italian Barbera, and the Zinfandel, which is a grape unknown in Europe and California's very own, which makes a good *vin rouge*. As I said in the last "Delectations," the red Cabernet Sauvignons and the Pinot Noirs desperately need aging to come to their fullest flavor, while the other varieties named above are good, but not nearly as noble and commanding of respectful aging. I can only recommend that readers with the available cellar space start themselves such a collection of lovely California wines, with results that will make them cry out with astonished delight. Among the smaller vineyard red California wines, two we have especially liked in our house are Korbel's Cabernet Sauvignon and Sebastiani's Pinot Noir. These are only two of the many.

AS FOR California champagne, the best is made by the classical method, and the cheaper by the tank method; the classical method being the one where the wine is slowly fermented in the bottle. At a later date, I will write at length about it. For today, I wish to recommend the products of two houses which stand comparison with most French champagne, and I am talking of very good French champagne: Almadén's Blanc de Blancs and Korbel's Nature and Brut. We've drunk cases and cases of these lovely champagnes, and hoping that circumstances hold out, will drink many more by ourselves and with our guests. But as I said, champagne is another story.

Here is a partial list of the leading California wineries whose products I admire very much. There are some smaller wineries which make wonderful wine, but there is too little of it to come by outside California, alas. The wineries are arranged alphabetically. Almadén, Santa Clara, San Benito and other localities; Beaulieu Vineyards, Napa; Buena Vista, Sonoma; Cresta Blanca, Livermore; Inglenook, Napa; F. Korbel, Sonoma; Charles Krug, Louis Martini, Napa, Sonoma; Paul Masson Vineyards,

(Continues on page 505)

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Limitations of Kremlinology

Power in the Kremlin
By Michel Tatu
Viking, $10.00

TIBOR SZAMUELY

During the last two decades a new occult art has entered our lives: the science of Kremlinology. Unlike other, genuine sciences, which developed in a rather haphazard fashion, Kremlinology arose to fulfill a very definite demand. When the second greatest power in the world, disposing of infinite military might, is governed in conditions of total secrecy, the foreign public, and especially the foreign governments which have to deal with this power, require expert information based upon recondite and painstaking analysis of every minute scrap of knowledge at their disposal. Hence Kremlinology.

The West has learned a great deal from the Kremlinologists. It has learned that no monolithic unity exists behind the Kremlin's placid walls; that the autocratic rulers of Russia are engaged in a constant ferocious struggle for power; that cliques, intrigues and treachery dominate the lives of the Communist chieftains. The struggle in the Kremlin is according to the rules of gang warfare; the rewards are great, and the penalties greater still.

As a method for the close study of political gangsterdom at the top, Kremlinology is of great value: its usefulness in analyzing Soviet policy is much more limited. As long as the limits of Kremlinology are clearly understood by its practitioners no harm is done, and a lot of good can actually be achieved—but when they become intoxicated by their own esoteric powers, when years of reading between the lines gradually blind them to the realities of the world with which they are dealing, then the dark art can become a bit of a menace. Many Kremlinologists tend to forget that there is much more to politics—even under totalitarianism—than the web of personal relationships, while some of them obscure the fact that their elaborate theories are often based on the most tenuous of evidence.

Thus, we are frequently regaled by excited descriptions of "hawks" and "doves," or "conservatives" and "liberals" in the Kremlin, and enjoined to support the latter against the former. The bemused reader, incapable of even distinguishing between Podgorny and Polyansky (not to mention such important Soviet politicians of the past decade as Messrs. Kirilenko, Kirichenko, Korotchenko, Kalchenko and Kucherenko), can hardly be blamed for not noticing that the "hawk" of today is suddenly become the "dove" of tomorrow, and that a whole magnificent theory may be based on no more than a single paragraph from some obscure Kazakhstan party journal.

THE LIMITATIONS, as well as the genuine uses of Kremlinology, can best be appreciated by studying the writings of its most serious and best-equipped practitioners. M. Michel Tatu is undoubtedly one of the masters of the art. During his seven years as Moscow correspondent of *Le Monde*, he became generally acknowledged as the leading foreign reporter of the Soviet scene. Now he has published a vast tome of nearly six hundred pages devoted to a minute description of the power struggle in the Kremlin during the last four years of Khrushchev's rule and to a briefer account of the post-Khrushchevian power set-up. It is a magisterial work—Kremlinology at its finest—omitting no scrap of evidence, leaving no avenue of theory unexplored. By the time we finish it, we know everything about how Khrushchev's power gradually dwindled away until he was suddenly and brutally dismissed from his posts and consigned to oblivion. The one thing we do not discover is *why* he was deposed. Yet that is the infinitely more important question.

M. Tatu models his book upon Mr. Robert Conquest's classic *Power and Policy in the USSR*—indeed, he takes up the narrative at the exact point where Mr. Conquest ended: the U-2 affair of 1960. But the great difference between the two books is already made clear in their titles: Mr. Conquest is concerned with the struggle for power as a means of shaping policy, M. Tatu is concerned solely with the struggle for power.

M. Tatu, I am afraid, is not really interested in policy issues. Whenever they crop up he brushes them aside impatiently. In his blow-by-blow description of the fateful October plenum at which Khrushchev was deposed, he dimisses the charges against the First Secretary with something like contempt: "The charges are of scant interest, for it is clear that there was no shortage of grievances once it had been agreed to hold the trial." But this is nonsense—the charges were all-important. Khrushchev was not deposed just because at that precise moment more members of the Presidium happened to dislike him than to admire him, but because of his policies—and because of their failure. For instance, a decisive part in Khrushchev's downfall was played by the disastrous harvest failure of 1963—yet M. Tatu mentions it as an aside, in one single sentence, while giving pages and pages to the involved relationships between the "Kharkov" and "Dnepropetrovsk" groups. All very interesting, no doubt, but had the harvest not failed would

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all these groups have mattered in the slightest?

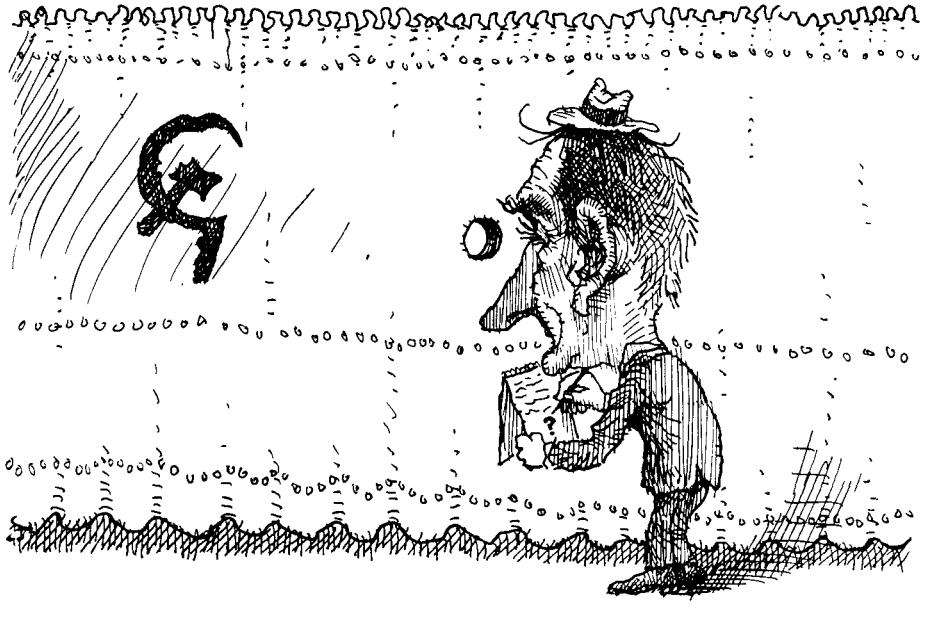
Again and again M. Tatu treats the crucial policy issues facing the Soviet leadership in the most cavalier fashion. Kosygin, he says, "only wanted the managers to have a free hand in running the economy without interference from the ideologists." *Only?* If true, this would mean that Kosygin desired a total transformation of the Soviet system. M. Tatu knows perfectly well that this is not so—yet he is far too engrossed in the ups and downs of third-rate provincial party secretaries to realize the significance of his statement.

FUTURE HISTORIANS will probably say that the most lasting achievement of the Khrushchev era was "destalinization": the destruction of the Stalin myth, and, with it, of the myth of Communist infallibility. Yet M. Tatu treats the whole policy of destalinization as nothing but a crafty power ploy by Khrushchev to confound and destroy his enemies. Such an approach to the central event in Communist history of the last twenty years, an event fraught with incalculable consequences, is—apart from anything else—unfair both to Khrushchev and to M. Tatu himself.

To prove his thesis the author refers to some highly dubious evidence. He establishes a direct link between the defeat of the Molotov-Malenkov-Kaganovich "anti-party group" in June 1957 and the rehabilitation of the military leaders killed by Stalin—by quoting the Khrushchevite Mme. Furtseva to the effect that the generals had been rehabilitated "shortly before" June 1957. In fact this had taken place two years earlier. The imperative need for destalinization was recognized by every member of the post-Stalin leadership; it was begun a few weeks after the dictator's death, long before Khrushchev's ascent to supreme power, by Beria and Malenkov. Khrushchev seized upon destalinization and made it his own—but he could succeed because it was a necessary policy and he was the man best fitted to carry it out. This may be an oversimplification of an extremely complex issue, but much less of an oversimplification than M. Tatu's—and I do not have 550 pages to develop my point.

This point is a simple one—that politics in Russia are not played in a void. The country's rulers may be a bunch of murderous thugs, but they themselves, for all their limitless power, are governed (like all politicians) by factors largely outside their control and outside the scope of their in-fighting: foreign-political relationships, unrest in their empire, the need to feed their people (after a fashion), the exigencies of the arms race, the state of popular and national feeling. Pure Kremlinology, as applied even by such an outstanding expert as M. Tatu, can explain neither the conflict with China nor the invasion of Czechoslovakia. Nor even the recent turn towards extreme repression inside the country. The Soviet leadership is practicing neo-Stalinism not because it consists of Stalinists (it always has) but because that is the only way to stop things from getting out of hand.

In short, there is much more to the study and the understanding of Soviet politics than is dreamt of by the Kremlinologists. □



FICTION

Portnoy's Complaint
By Philip Roth
Random House, $6.95
Providence Island
By Calder Willingham
Vanguard, $6.95

CUI BONO?

GUY DAVENPORT

"The nerve you've got, to talk nice and kind to me, then say such a thing! Wicked and sinful, that's what you are! I'd never *dream* of being unfaithful to my husband, even if I were separated from him for a year, or for two years, or three—and *not* because I'm a pious goody-goody, either! I'm a normal woman with normal feelings but I am *not* a beast or an animal that knows no better, and my answer to you is—thank you just the same. And having given you that answer, I will ask you not to speak to me again in such a familiar and disgusting manner while we're on this ship."

"I fell in love with you the minute I saw you," said Jim quietly, "and I want you. Is that a crime?"

A frown almost like a flinch came on her forehead, then her lips pressed angrily together. "Under the circumstances, yes! And this morning you don't even have the excuse you're drunk! As far as I'm concerned you have no character at all and you can fall in that ocean and I wouldn't even bother to pull you out!"

"I bet you would too," said Jim.

Thus the prose of Mr. Calder Willingham, which his publishers call "magic." My question is: Who reads such trash? A Victorian would have said, "The cook." But there are no more cooks, or very few, and the ones I know are too intelligent to follow the doings of Mr. Willingham's paper-doll characters, even into their fornications, which have the same relation to sex as screaming does to a Rossini aria. I suppose there are among the gourmandizers of plastic cheeseburgers and styrofoam milk-shakes readers enough to warrant

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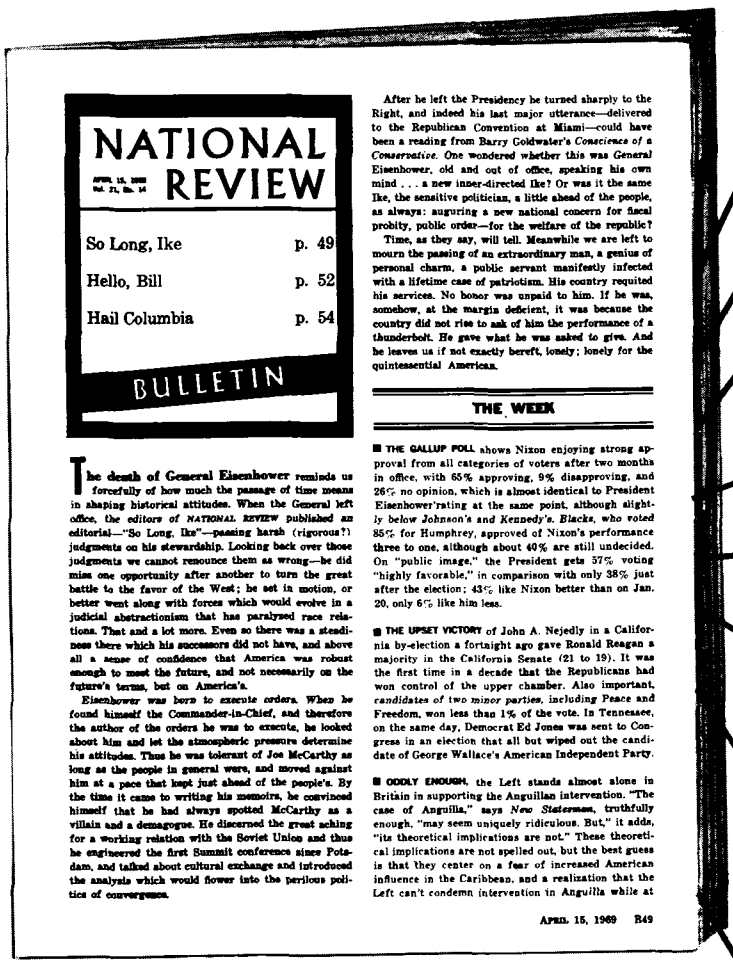

NATIONAL REVIEW

So Long, Ike p. 49

Hello, Bill p. 52

Hail Columbia p. 54

BULLETIN

The death of General Eisenhower reminds us forcefully of how much the passage of time means in shaping historical attitudes. When the General left office, the editors of NATIONAL REVIEW published an editorial—"So Long, Ike"—passing harsh (rigorous?) judgments on his stewardship. Looking back over those judgments we cannot renounce them as wrong—he did miss one opportunity after another to turn the great battle to the favor of the West; he set in motion, or better went along with forces which would evolve in a judicial abstractionism that has paralyzed race relations. That and a lot more. Even so there was a steadiness there which his successors did not have, and above all a sense of confidence that America was robust enough to meet the future, and not necessarily on the future's terms, but on America's.

Eisenhower was born to execute orders. When he found himself the Commander-in-Chief, and therefore the author of the orders he was to execute, he looked about him and let the atmospheric pressure determine his attitudes. Thus he was tolerant of Joe McCarthy as long as the people in general were, and moved against him at a pace that kept just ahead of the people's. By the time it came to writing his memoirs, he convinced himself that he had always spotted McCarthy as a villain and a demagogue. He discerned the great aching for a working relation with the Soviet Union and thus he engineered the first Summit conference since Potsdam, and talked about cultural exchange and introduced the analysis which would flower into the perilous politics of convergence.

After he left the Presidency he turned sharply to the Right, and indeed his last major utterance—delivered to the Republican Convention at Miami—could have been a reading from Barry Goldwater's *Conscience of a Conservative*. One wondered whether this was General Eisenhower, old and out of office, speaking his own mind . . . a new inner-directed Ike? Or was it the same Ike, the sensitive politician, a little ahead of the people, as always: auguring a new national concern for fiscal probity, public order—for the welfare of the republic?

Time, as they say, will tell. Meanwhile we are left to mourn the passing of an extraordinary man, a genius of personal charm, a public servant manifestly infected with a lifetime case of patriotism. His country requited his services. No honor was unpaid to him. If he was, somehow, at the margin deficient, it was because the country did not rise to ask of him the performance of a thunderbolt. He gave what he was asked to give. And he leaves us if not exactly bereft, lonely; lonely for the quintessential American.

THE WEEK

■ THE GALLUP POLL shows Nixon enjoying strong approval from all categories of voters after two months in office, with 65% approving, 9% disapproving, and 26% no opinion, which is almost identical to President Eisenhower rating at the same point, although slightly below Johnson's and Kennedy's. Blacks, who voted 85% for Humphrey, approved of Nixon's performance three to one, although about 40% are still undecided. On "public image," the President gets 57% voting "highly favorable," in comparison with only 38% just after the election; 43% like Nixon better than on Jan. 20, only 6% like him less.

■ THE UPSET VICTORY of John A. Nejedly in a California by-election a fortnight ago gave Ronald Reagan a majority in the California Senate (21 to 19). It was the first time in a decade that the Republicans had won control of the upper chamber. Also important, candidates of two minor parties, including Peace and Freedom, won less than 1% of the vote. In Tennessee, on the same day, Democrat Ed Jones was sent to Congress in an election that all but wiped out the candidate of George Wallace's American Independent Party.

■ ODDLY ENOUGH, the Left stands almost alone in Britain in supporting the Anguillan intervention. "The case of Anguilla," says *New Statesman*, truthfully enough, "may seem uniquely ridiculous. But," it adds, "its theoretical implications are not." These theoretical implications are not spelled out, but the best guess is that they center on a fear of increased American influence in the Caribbean, and a realization that the Left can't condemn intervention in Anguilla while at

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A compact listing of the week's most significant news items—many "overlooked" in the nation's press;

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6. AT HOME:
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IMPORTANT

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a publisher's issuing Mr. Willingham's *ineptiae*. Publishers have to eat, I suppose.

But Mr. Roth's novel—a best-seller of some weeks now—complicates the problem of considering who reads what. Here is Mr. Willingham's salacity lacquered and carved in jade. Mr. Roth can write rings around Mr. Willingham, so we can't say that it was for want of something better to do that he has written a novel which seems to be little more than a feeble joke far too long-winded to sustain itself. The fact of the matter is that he has written two novels which drift away from each other drunkenly, but which were surely meant to focus in firm stereopsis. One novel is an account of a middle-class Jewish adolescence, and this is written in a manner well institutionalized by this time. Mama Portnoy is Golda Meir as she might have appeared if Milt Gross had put her in *Nize Baby*. Papa Portnoy is Willy Loman lifted whole from Arthur Miller. Young Portnoy is a fairly engaging scamp, and I imagine that if we saw more of him outside the bathroom his frenetic childhood would make good reading.

But—and here the trouble begins—along with this onanistic *Bildungsroman* there is a Henry Millerish and wide-mouthed account of Portnoy's haphazard rutting, the point of which is supposed to be that he can't enjoy it because of his puritanical upbringing. That's what Portnoy's Complaint is, "a disorder in which strongly-felt ethical impulses are perpetually warring with extreme sexual longings." All of which is very confusing, for the successful part of the novel makes it clear that Portnoy can't enjoy his maturity for the simple reason that he hasn't grown up, and is trying to translate fantasies into reality. At least Portnoy didn't become a novelist, a blessing for which we can be thankful. As it is, Portnoy becomes a connoisseur of those moments imagined by fifteen-year-olds when their hormones are in full juice, only to discover that loose women are rather appalling and that Venusberg can be as dull as television.

So, *enfants*, what have we learned? There is no art so private as the novel. It is not read aloud, nor projected on a screen, nor intruded into a million livingrooms at once. Why shouldn't the novelist make as free as he will with his subject, hiding nothing human from our eyes or noses or finger-tips? It is the spirit of the times to touch the taboo and to parade out all that has been the object of modesty and to regale us with Colonel Harlan Sander's Mandolin Band at the same time. The pity is that such freedom, which should always be at the artist's disposal (and the best have claimed it even when it was forbidden—Swift, Ibsen, Joyce, Proust), is, in the immemorial haplessness of freedom, being abused with cataleptic abandon. It is also the spirit of the age to imagine that something progressive is afoot, and that each broken taboo is to be a louder smash than the one before.

This illusion is only possible in an illiterate society with no past against which to measure its experimentation. *Hair*, for instance, looks tame beside the *Re Baldoria* of Marinetti (1905), and adolescent masturbation is treated in Gorky's *Delo Artamonovykh* (1925) with more dramatic force than Mr. Roth has managed. And we can still ask why at this point in time should there be so much whore's scratching (to translate *pornography* into mother English). Is it nothing but the obvious end to realism? Is it prophetic gesture on the part of artists to prepare us to learn to live more closely than we now do with our neighbors?

Obscenity cannot be defined easily *within* a society, and cannot be defined at all in the absolute. The Olympic games were conducted in the nude with propriety and, to the Greek mind, splendor; and one can guess that the get-up of an American woman seen on the streets of Pericles' Athens would have made the very prostitutes blush. What's new about the problem of obscenity, of course, is that it has become big business, and its audience must therefore be everybody. Everybody, however, does not want to be exposed to it. When *Fanny Hill* was published, for instance, the public which read or could read was small, and a father could put his copy high on the library shelves. Nowadays any child with the 75 cents to pay for it can buy it at the drugstore or supermarket. A moving picture is made for everybody. Salacity on television hits the eyes of four-year-olds and ninety-year-olds. Art has not changed; it has simply been suddenly embraced by greed and the total lack of decency with which greed gloves its rapacious hand. We have the misfortune to live in the first age of the world in which everything is for sale.

There's no point in imagining that salacity isn't a standard part of our psychology, or that it doesn't have a place in even the most puritanical life, or that it isn't solidly human. A highly religious old Balkan grandmother can describe her daughter's wedding night with such gusto and detail as to make a North Carolina Methodist see double, choke and pass out. There are many strong passages in the Old Testament touched lightly if at all among the most fervent searchers of the Word. On the one hand we have Lincoln's magnificently apt "For people who like this kind of book, this is the kind of book they will like," and on the other something like an invasion of one's sensibilities by matters one had rather not see, hear, or be reminded of.

The artist cannot calculate this, and we are perhaps wrong to be outraged by his story when we are reading it of our own free will and can (unless you are a reviewer) drop it in the trash-basket. What we ought to notice is that the disgust we feel in whatever strikes us as obscene is there in the obscenity; it is Mr. Roth's character's disgust with sex that makes his novel so distasteful. Ditto for Mr. Willingham. In any case, nobody's going to be depraved by either Mr. Roth or Mr. Willingham. Nor, I'm afraid, will anybody be made any wiser or more sensitive in understanding others or different in any way at all for having read them—which is the saddest thing one can say of a work of art. □

Reflections upon a Sinking Ship
By Gore Vidal
Little, Brown, $5.95

TAKING UP THE JOB GOD BUNGLED

CHRISTOPHER NICHOLS

Has somebody been slipping STP into Gore Vidal's frozen daiquiris? It seems so from the quality of his latest bunch of *billets doux*, *Reflections Upon a Sinking Ship*, a sequel to his last bunch, *Rocking the Boat*. He is best, very urbane and witty, when lashing cultural lightweights with his velvet glove, and that poised, clever fiction must make even Truman Capote wince with jealousy. But now that Vidal is writing hortatory polemic, he is unbearable—though still remarkable in a Krafft-Ebing sort of way.

His last novel, *Myra Breckinridge*, for sheer (and often funny) sensational trash has become as celebrated as the

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New York garbage strike. He should have left it there. Now he gives us Myra's musings in prose. Maybe he's kidding, putting us on, in this current world-beater phase.

The main thrusts of polemic in *Reflections* are 1) something significant must be done to rid society of its "monstrous sexual ethic" (unreconstructed heterosexuality) and 2) that something conclusive must be done to halt overpopulation—which, among other things, is sinking the ship. He has a solution to the problem of "unwanted" babies: the "Authority."

The Authority, as Vidal advocates it, would by power of law place a moratorium on all births for at least a year, then conduct "an enquiry into who would *like* to have children. . . ." Never mind the practical chore of keeping, say, Appalachia's nooks and crannies babyless; there are larger challenges to face. Vidal does just that. "The endlessly delicate problem," he writes, "of who should be allowed to have children might be entirely eliminated by the anonymous matching in laboratories of sperm and ova." And then: "If this were done, the raising of children could then be entrusted to those who show some talent for it, on the order of the Israeli kibbutzim."

THOSE WHO SUSPECT Vidal is just twitting the honkies should be warned that this is only the beginning of what he calls "this new world order"—an echo of what his transsexual, Myra Breckinridge, heralded as "this new order for the human race." Whether these words should conjure up the Nazi jackboot or black vinyl wedgies gets cleared up quickly. "Since planned (and perhaps anonymous) breeding will eliminate the family as we know it, those not engaged in bringing up the young would be free to form whatever alliances they want, of long or short duration, in any mutually consenting agreement with either sex, on the principle that each man has the right to do as he likes with his own body. . . ." The prospect of all those lubricious permutations and combinations must send absolute *frissons* up Vidal's spine. And that lofty bit about "principle"; will that ever make reactionary RCs squirm!

More of the plan, as laid out in *Esquire* as a "manifesto": "Since additional children are no longer needed, it is impossible to say that some [sexual] acts are 'right' and others 'wrong.' " The logic leaves me reeling, but at this point, I thought to myself: He's not kidding. (I figured this was the greatest thing since Swift—the son of "A Modest Proposal," but maybe he's serious.)

Since additional children are no longer needed. . . . It's like some insane newspaper ad: NEW WORLD SEEKS INHABITANTS: NO KIDS NEED APPLY. Has Vidal lost contact with the real world? Is he smoking something that doesn't agree with him? Does he fail to see that a lot of militant heterosexuals, called husbands and wives, do indeed need additional children, or at least one?

Vidal also wants us to think the homophiles and bisexuals are shamefully oppressed. So the Authority will facilitate a reform, doing well by doing good. It will salvage (hopefully) the threatened dream of Vidal's utter freedom in sexual matters, but with certain side-effects: "The Authority's aim is to preserve and strengthen human types through planned breeding. Eugenically, we have had enormous success with everything from cattle to hybrid corn. So why not people?" Another of those fantastic sentences: *So why not people?*

I still suspect a hoax. For instance, who is worth saving? "What strains are best worth preserving I'm willing to leave to science," answers Vidal. He's going to trust the scientists, but not mention the technologists, the implementers? It beggars belief. The case for farce is even stronger when he emphatically declares: "The Authority may *not* have the power or right to regulate the private lives of citizens."

The twisted logic and convoluted ugliness of this individual's ideas seem endless—though utilitarian. He says, for example, in speaking of how we must shed sexual "superstitions," that it is a "notorious paradox" that youngsters, who are full of juice, are not morally or economically able in our society to pursue their sexual pleasure. While his data are dreadfully outdated, one might consider the cumulative effect on the institution of marriage (not to mention love) if adolescents do not learn some sort of control—and some sensitivity to moral tensions—in the pre-marriage phase of life. Of course, marriage is a paramount objective in Vidal's battle plan.

Then there is his "swinger" pitch, the Norman O. Brown routine. Let's start swinging, says Vidal, noting this teenage (and adult) term of respect suggests one who swings both ways. After all, we're all bisexual in the beginning anyway, he declares. It is this "monstrous sexual ethic" that bends boys to girls and turns girls onto boys, presumably like orthopedic shoes torturing the feet. One might say, in reply, that we are all "homicidal" at birth, but that unwanted children, in amazing numbers, have been taught not to simply destroy what frustrates them.

ONE RESPONSE to Vidal is absurdly simple. He should be stuffed and placed in the Smithsonian as our definitive example of a high degree of secular evolution. The disturbing thing about this intellectual taffy-pull of supersecular ideas is that it is so representative of the current scene. The lengths to which Vidal is willing to go (seriously or jokingly) reveal that once you have put your faith in the dialectic, in man's ultimate perfectibility, you must countenance—indeed you must advocate—more sweeping, drastic and dehumanizing measures for recovery when the great plans seem to go awry. You must, as Whittaker Chambers observed, take upon yourself more "crimes of history" and pay stiffer "penalties of the faith" when danger seems to threaten.

Vidal's advocacy of the Authority is symptomatic of the current desperation among materialist ideologues, who are busily cranking up the computers and processing the information (metaphorically speaking), working up contingency plans and formulating pre-crisis policies on their wonderful machines to testify to the fact that the global village can be run synergistically. Big decisions. Superagencies. Authorities. Having taken up the job God bungled, they are fast exhausting their resources for the secular paradise in which man has finally mastered the automation of his existence and his world.

Having committed themselves to the tools of science and technology—having committed their faith—they are no less driven than the rock-ribbed Baptists they laugh about. They cite the population peril, the famine peril, the nuclear peril, the reactionary-right-wing peril, the not-being-sensitive-to-the-peril peril. They have a vision that things can be, must be, *run*, that enough planning and management can work it out. It's there, on paper. But not there in the newspapers or in television newscasts, filled not by the behavior of automatons subject to manipulation by changing inputs and programs, but by the irascible, perfidious conduct of God's imperfect, willful children.

It's these creations, you see, with

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their shabby notions of sanctity, that screw up the plans. Something must be done; a big gamble must be taken. So there stands the former silk-stocking liberal, Rousseau's Thursday child, poised on a brink, so to speak, ready to let science decide, ready to welcome the Authority which stops creation by fiat (but must *not* interfere in private lives), flexing his knees and holding his nose in preparation for his great leap forward, his leap into faith—and the hope of all those permutations and combinations. . . .

Yes, the ship is foundering badly, sinking maybe, but not so much from weight of numbers as from the conduct of past and present navigators and the kind of stokers who tend our cultural furnaces. The battle lines are hardening and the mutineers are forming up in different gangs. It's becoming a *sauve qui peut* situation, all right. *Myra Breckinridge* gave us a lovingly etched fictional cameo of the degradations of the body and the spirit. Vidal's "manifesto" mummery reveals that the scholar of fleshly violations has reached a new plateau—of anxiety, confusion and despair. He wants company. It's today's sickness. What Gore Vidal truly needs is for about a million good people to intercede for him, through prayer, to the Authority that is already there. It just might help. □

The FBI in Our Open Society
By Harry and Bonaro Overstreet
Norton, $6.95

Communism
By J. Edgar Hoover
Random House, $4.95

THERAPY FOR LIBERALS

M. STANTON EVANS

The two books considered here should be read as they are reviewed, together. The first, by the Overstreets, sets right a number of misconceptions about the work of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and its director, J. Edgar Hoover. The second, by Hoover himself, explodes a good deal of current mythology about the nature of Communism and its asserted "mellowing."

As a package, the books offer useful therapy for liberals. The Overstreet volume is a calm but thorough defense of the FBI against the usual leftward charges, and since the authors themselves are credentialed liberals, their

commentary should carry special weight. Hoover's work is an excellent brief handbook on the true character of our Communist adversary, with particular emphasis on the current tactics of the CPUSA. Liberals persuaded by the Overstreet book and therefore susceptible to Hoover's discourse could profit by it greatly.

Since American liberals have never cared much for Hoover anyway, the Overstreet volume will undoubtedly prove the more disconcerting. It takes up, one by one, the accusations against the Bureau leveled by Fred Cook, Jack Levine, Max Lowenthal, James Wechsler et al., and refutes them. It portrays the FBI as scrupulous in its concern for civil liberties, alert in its defense of the national interest, effective in the battle against big-league crime. Hoover's regard for state and local prerogatives, punctilious economy and genius for organization all come in for merited praise.

Among the charges dismantled by the Overstreets are the notion that the Bureau is a gigantic "national police force" (it is neither very large nor inclined to assume normal police authority); that Hoover is "power hungry" (he has avoided empire-building and jurisdictional grabs); that the FBI distorts crime and arrest figures to make itself look good (the Bureau is in fact a model of statistical rigor); that it employs "informers" for nefarious purposes (informants are a necessary law enforcement aid—which liberals did not condemn when used, e.g. against the Klan); that the FBI taps telephones indiscriminately and otherwise invades the privacy of American citizens (Morris Ernst's researches suggest the contrary).

These are but a few of the matters discussed by the authors—matters in which, with few exceptions, the FBI turns out to have been right and its persistent critics wrong. Along the way, the Overstreets level some personal shots at Messrs. Cook, Levine, etc., whose distaste for the Bureau has led them into factual misplays. They also take some pokes at the Right, for the opposite but scarcely equal sin of liking the FBI too much. They contend that Hoover does not agree with this or that right-wing commentator who admires the FBI, a reiterated theme apparently dragged in through nervous reflex on the part of the authors and a desire to keep their liberal readers mollified.

RATHER THAN theorizing on Hoover's agreement or disagreement with someone else, it is obviously preferable to let the FBI chief speak for himself. This he does with admirable clarity in the present volume of opinions about the problem of Communism. His book traces the current effort of the Communist Party to make itself respectable before the public, while moving to exploit racial unrest, New Left emotionalism and other species of social disorder. It examines the Party's campaign to give itself a "new look," to appeal to youth, to walk the doctrinal line between Moscow orthodoxy and native anarchy. The discussion is made specific with names and places and events taken from the daily agenda of Communist activity.

Hoover warns of Communist involvement with the New Left, noting that many New Left slogans are taken from the Marxist-Leninist vocabulary. While the Communists dislike the movement's lack of discipline, they revel in its rhetoric and welcome its embitterment with America. And, Hoover asserts, they are making important organizational gains through New Left willingness to adopt the Marxist categories of thought and to consort with the Party in various forms of protest. The campus has thus been doubly good to the Communists, since it was the receptivity of the colleges to Party speakers which gave them a major breakthrough to a non-Communist public in the early Sixties.

The fundamental fact about Communism, Hoover notes, is that it is still Communism—still an ideology and an organization sworn to destroy the United States, still a faithful instrument

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of Soviet policy. And while it may put on this or that mask, talk of "coexistence" and peaceful change, or present itself as an innocuous discussion group devoted to the graceful advent of scientific socialism, it is a revolutionary force subservient to a hostile foreign power, and will use any means including violence where necessary to achieve its goals. Its various shifts of tactical direction are meant to deceive the credulous. Too often they succeed.

The policy implications of these facts of record should be relatively clear: "accommodation" with the Communists at home or abroad is an impossibility. The CPUSA is not an exercise in dissent but an extension of Soviet power. And the Soviet Union itself, as the chief center of Communist ideology in the world, is an unflagging enemy whose talk of thaw invites our cooperation in our own demise. And if these assertions be true, it follows that huge segments of U.S. policy are fatally in error.

As the Overstreets set forth the facts about the FBI, so does the FBI director set forth the facts about the Communist Party. Since there are few subjects in greater need of clarification, both volumes are highly useful. Anyone who wants a plainer understanding of the murky subject of internal security in America today can make a good beginning in these pages. □

THEATER

KING LEAR: ENGLISH AND AMERICAN

RICHMOND CRINKLEY

American dramatic criticism, like American dramatic production, becomes curiously paralyzed when confronting Shakespeare. He is the great father figure, the Old Testament God, with whom we cannot deal but of whom we cannot dispose. The tendency is to come at him tangentially—*Troilus and Cressida* done as a Civil War fable, *Romeo and Juliet* turned into a parable about race relations, *Twelfth Night* transmogrified into *Your Own Thing*, or *Macbeth* given the bird. The critical climate quite rightly tolerates some of these approaches because the reverential I-Have-Seen-Shakespeare-in-London efforts are usually so much worse. The English take their Shakespeare casually, which is why *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead* will be around a long time after *Macbird!* is forgotten. Americans, on the other hand, tend to wet their intellectual pants when they hear the word *Hamlet*.

HENCE THE AMERICAN PROBLEM with *King Lear*. The play intimidates even the English. Dr. Johnson shied away from the last act. "I was many years ago so shocked by Cordelia's death that I know not whether I ever endured to read again the last scenes of the play till I undertook to revise them as an editor." And Charles Lamb declared categorically, "the *Lear* of Shakespeare cannot be acted."

When Peter Brook brought his now legendary production of *King Lear* to the United States, his American audiences greeted it with shock. It was not reverential Shakespeare, not what they had expected. It did not confirm their preconceptions and it became definitive, as it were, by brute force. Lear is quintessentially paternal, the great father figure created by the great father figure. If Shakespeare is the Old Testament God, Lear is his Moses, or maybe his Isaac. And Paul Scofield's Lear in the Royal Shakespeare Company production by Brook broods over the other Lears of the decade, making them test themselves against it.

Recently when Lee J. Cobb played Lear in Lincoln Center, the Vivian Beaumont was crawling with paternal ghosts. Scofield had been there, and Cobb had further to contend with the ghost of Willy Loman. There was Gramps Loman, stalking about like an old man in a bathrobe. Not that Lear can't be an old man in a bathrobe, but Cobb was looking one Lear and speaking another. There were some fine bits of kingship in his voice.

Fittingly but unintentionally, Gerald Freedman's production was patricide. *King Lear* is a play about the ghastly slaughter of an old man by a predatory younger generation. At the Vivian Beaumont it was a case study of a frequently fine central performance frustrated by pervasive incompetence in the rest of the cast, particularly among the daughters. In the first act, for instance, Cordelia spoke her refusal to Lear as affectionately as if she were telling him precisely what he wanted to hear. If anything, she was more unctuous than the syrupy Goneril and Regan. Lear looked at her appropriately befuddled: he was angry about not having anything to be angry about. "Nothing?" comes as a statement of histrionic surprise, not as an inquiry about Cordelia's attitude.

Lear in Lincoln Center was more a moment of cultural history than a production of Shakespeare's play. It brought back all the memories of bad Shakespeare: posturing warriors, wicked daughters sketched from some Disney

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film, saccharine diction, and all the rest. Precisely what the Brook production had avoided.

AND IT CAN HARDLY PLEASE many posturing, honey-voiced Shakespeareans, English or American, that Brook's *Lear* is now renewing itself, Phoenix-like, in Denmark. Brook will be filming until mid-April; he boasts Scofield as his Lear and Jack MacGowran as his Fool; and his filmscript is at once a brilliant, flexible cinematic realization of the play and a central piece of Shakespeare criticism.

The black-and-white rushes seem somehow already remote from the experience of filming. What the company looks at each day at 6 P.M. seems a different thing from its work in front of the cameras the day before. The cinematic style is that of an early talkie, a use of the film medium to achieve an effect that is usually captured by costume or language.

This *Lear* will probably be shown first on CBS-TV, in the same series as Peter Hall's version of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and then it will be released to movie-houses. For once, Shakespeare is going to be successful on television. The Brook *Lear* is conceived for the compass of either the small screen or the large. The familial armageddons that make up the play will be understandable to an audience that has taken to *Peyton Place* or *Love of Life* more readily on the small screen than to *Taras Bulba* or *Son of Hercules*.

For Brook's *Lear* is, among other things, a play about a family. All the nuances that make up a family relationship are present. Goneril and Regan are not demons but daughters, and all the more horrible because of it. *King Lear* is coming into being as a film about basic human relationships, a spare and sinewy treatment of a man in an elemental state.

Jutland is a long way away. The heaths near Skagen, in the far north, are barren and blasty. The retired Danish cavalry officers who make up Lear's retinue of one hundred knights are themselves visitors from another epoch, stray extras from some Bergman parable. The story has never quite lost its roots in the chronicles. It was an ancient family squabble, we don't know the whole story. But *King Lear* is always with us, struggling back to representation. It is at once remote and essential. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

SEVEN SEATS TO THE MOON, *by Charlotte Armstrong (Coward-McCann, $5.95).* Know those books that start off so well. The author has one whale of a good idea and off he, it and we go, callooh-callay, only to find that *it* has lost steam somewhere this side of page last. Well, in *Seven Seats to the Moon*, Charlotte Armstrong's inventiveness never flags. What's more, like the late Dorothy Sayers, Miss Armstrong is a novelist first and a writer of suspense yarns second. It's the characters, not the action, that counts (although of action there is plenty). You care very much what happens not only to J. Middleton Little, businessman, his wife and three children, but even to his father and his outofthisworldly mother-in-law. Little, an accident victim in a Chicago hospital, overhears his dying roommate tell a visitor something of world-shattering importance: the location of a super-secret meeting of world brains that could mean the difference between life and death for the planet. The sick man swears J to secrecy and promises him, in exchange, seven seats to the moon (and survival). Since there are nine members of J's immediate family the idea is to divert his thoughts from the conversation itself. J, in fact, doesn't know the significance of what he overheard. The bad guys aren't sure whether he can help them, the good guys don't want to tip their hand by removing J from the scene temporarily (he has too many hostages out in members of his immediate family). Whether J actually gets to use his Seven Seats to the Moon you won't get from me. I wouldn't deprive you of the fun of finding out for yourself. P. L. BUCKLEY

THE AGONY OF THE AMERICAN LEFT, *by Christopher Lasch (Knopf, $4.95).* In one of the five loosely related essays that make up this book, the author casually refers to Franklin Roosevelt as an "enlightened conservative." Such a bizarre reading of the political spectrum tends to befuddle. Unless one suspends one's own more conventional political framework, too many of Christopher Lasch's polemics are without bite, too many of his insights without clout. For example, the third essay in this volume is a shrill documentation and denunciation of the anti-Communism of some liberals. Those readers not sharing the author's radical bias are likely to plod quizzically through the angry phrases and then, at the end, ask, "So?" But Lasch at his best is not a partisan writing for fellow partisans but a near-pure analyst, the best the New Left has produced to date. And the last two essays here, first published in the *New York Review of Books*, are brilliant, objective critiques of the black and student revolutionary movements. The one theme common to all five essays is the failure of ideology, this being the agony of the American Left. Our radical intellectuals have always looked to Lenin or Mao for their philosophical underpinnings, but the ideas of both men have consistently failed to gain a foothold on American soil because, says Lasch, they're irrelevant to conditions in the United States. "Because socialism first came to power . . . in countries where the material basis for a socialism of abundance did not yet exist, twentieth-century socialist regimes have had to address themselves first of all to the task of capital accumulation—a task that in the West was performed by capitalism itself. . . . The blinding prestige of the Russian and later the Chinese revolution tended to conceal not only the monstrous character of Stalinism but its total irrelevance to the attempt to build socialism in the West." And for the West, Lasch would construct a new socialist ideology, almost from scratch. The New Left can become a serious revolutionary movement if it follows the course that Lasch is beginning to chart. Conservatives should read his book to learn where the Left may be headed, thus to head it off.

P. P. ARDERY JR.

SOCIALISM AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IN EQUATORIAL ASIA, by *Roger A. Freeman (Hoover Institution).* Comparing national economies, as a rule, is about as speculative as buying over-the-counter Canadian mining stocks. There are usually so many variables that a crystal ball is as useful as a slide rule. Occasionally, however, situations arise where the key variables—ethnic, geographical and cultural—are so alike as to make differences meaningful. Such is the case with (ex?)—socialist Indonesia and capitalist Malaysia. Both countries are in Southeast Asia; both have splendid mineral resources; and both are peopled by Malays. Each also have a vigorous, non-integrated Chinese minority, who have been subjected to pogroms in Indonesia and discriminatory legislation in Malaysia. The big difference between the two nations, though, lies in economics. Indonesia, under its lubricious dictator Sukarno took the left path, with the result that her economy looks as if it was designed by Samuel Beckett. Malaysia, happily, kept a comparatively capitalist system and is doing fairly well. The hows and whys of these case studies are told very nicely in this book. The author, Roger A. Freeman, a veteran economist and governmental adviser, goes through collectivist clichés like a hot knife through suet. Combining scholarly techniques and reportorial style, he has produced a book which is both valuable and readable. J. D. KIRWAN

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DOLAN

(Cont. from p. 492)

himself a reputation as an advocate of "free speech" and the "open university."

"I couldn't understand," Brown says now of his views as a college student, "how you could call yourself a liberal and still refuse to allow someone a public platform. You either believe in the free marketplace of ideas or you don't. The administration at the university always gave the idea lip service and that was all."

Brown is still the advocate of dissent. Only a month ago as a spokesman for the New Democratic Coalition he released a statement that criticized the Nixon Administration for trying to stifle dissent and contributing to a climate of repression in the country.

There is for conservatives, of course, a familiar naïveté in Brown's view of the right to free speech. The Lockean concept of revolution, the distinction between a conspirator and a heretic, the right of a society to protect itself, are all subtleties that remain unencompassed by clichés like the "free marketplace of ideas."

Sam Brown, naturally, does not know this. Nor does he know that when stating his views on other issues besides the right to dissent, he is similarly content with pretty rhetoric. He is, for example, opposed to the war in Vietnam because "we are destroying the country in order to make it a democracy." Or the ABM is unacceptable to him because "certainly the solutions to our tremendous domestic problems outweigh the importance of developing a missile system that isn't even reliable."

Statements like those are comfortable (clichés are always comfortable), but, of course, under scrutiny, do not prove correct, or even nearly correct. The point is however that they are not meant to be correct. Their primary use is rhetorical; they are clarion calls; they are summons to action. As Sam Brown, future congressman and senator, says: "I'm primarily a doer. In school I didn't have time for the philosophy. I was probably the world's worst student."

And along with the inability to make distinctions, Brown has the usual vocabulary of any good contemporary "doer." "Problem solving," "the role of the social sciences," "the war on poverty," "the war on hunger"—all the right words are there. Never mind the mental work and the hard thinking. Just be a good American pragmatist and then go political. Find yourself a crisis and formulate the "six-point program to end all six-point programs." Make sure that it sounds good and that the mention of it leaves a pleasant taste in everybody's mouth. Yes, give it a good name. Make it smooth and spreadable. Make it creamy. Make it crunchy.

Clichés and crusades, good intentions and peanut butter sandwiches—it's all that the liberal university asks of its students; it's all that America demands of her leaders.

So his name is not that important, Sam Brown is no revolutionary. He's just the nice Midwestern boy standing out there on your doorstep—the nice Midwestern boy from Harvard Divinity School who's been to the demonstrations and the peace rallies; who knows about the "system" and the "Establishment" and the "New Politics" and just wants to talk to you about your "middle-class morality" and the possibilities of getting you "involved" and "committed." He's the liberal offspring. He's an all-American, this kid.

He's doing his thing.

And the hell with metaphysics. □

COMTE

(cont. from p. 491)

President Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast outlined its political consequences when he said: "Only if our policy is resolutely focused on Europe and the West can we evolve harmoniously."

At first—with the example of some of the major Third World demagogues like Nasser before him—President Sékou Touré of Guinea believed he could play East against West to extort material subsidies. But he had too profound a grasp of power relationships to fall entirely into the trap. "For the first time, Africa is open to the Communist world," he commented sometime after assuming the presidency in a speech at Bobo-Dioulasso, in Upper Volta. "The Russians are in Guinea, as are the Chinese. There is danger here ideologically and even greater danger economically. . . . Africa, like China, is an underdeveloped country. But while Africa is underpopulated, China is not." African leaders have begun to fear that the overpopulated continent could, one day, spill over into the empty continent and spread through it. That realization has put a halt to much of the wheeling and dealing that characterized earlier relations between Conakry and Peking.

Up to now these African conservatives have expressed their ideas in the terminology of modern liberalism. Like so many of our contemporaries they don't know how else to express themselves. But the Communists understand them perfectly: the Communists are making no mistake when they mount propaganda and subversive campaigns against them. European and American conservatives, however, do not seem to understand—perhaps they are blinded by racist considerations—that these are allies ready at hand. Instead of criticizing these people for their various economic failings, it would be better to furnish them with a new vocabulary and a new ideology. It never hurts to act intelligently! □

HAZLITT

(cont. from p. 488)

foreign investments the culprit responsible for a balance-of-payments deficit was not only arbitrary but implausible on its face. In the five years, 1958 to 1962, the aggregate net outflow of $16.6 billion for new foreign investment had been offset by $15.4 billion of income from previous investment. But the then Secretary of the Treasury, who had asked for the penalty tax, conceded: "In the long run the outflow of American capital to foreign countries is more than balanced by the inflow of income earned on that capital."

He urged the tax, in fact, "only as a temporary measure to meet our problem pending more fundamental solutions." Of course the more fundamental solutions were never adopted. The "temporary" securities tax was not only renewed, but on January 1, 1968, President Johnson in addition imposed mandatory controls on direct investments by American corporations abroad.

The implication of these measures is that our private foreign investment has been one of the chief causes of the deficit in our balance of payments. This is clearly untrue. It is federal spending, through foreign aid and military outlays, that has been in deficit. In recent years the private sector as a whole, as a result of export surpluses and income on private investments abroad, has continued to generate a payments surplus. (In recent months, however, there has been a dramatic shrinkage in the size of our export surplus.)

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In 1967 our total new foreign investments—including bank loans, purchases of foreign securities, and direct investments in factories and sales facilities—amounted to $5.5 billion. But the income from these and earlier private investments came to $6.2 billion.

At best, then, all these foreign investment restrictions and prohibitions are shortsighted. Any reduction we make in new foreign investment today means a corresponding reduction in investment income tomorrow.

Most shortsighted of all were the controls President Johnson put on direct investment abroad, including a complete prohibition on any new American investment whatever in most "developed" countries. These investments generate not only a prompt and heavy return-flow of investment income, but additional U.S. exports. The U.S. Department of Commerce found, in fact, that in 1964 $6.3 billion, or 25 per cent of our total exports in that year, went to affiliates of American companies overseas.

It is hardly too much to say that direct foreign investments, with the exports and income to which they give rise, are the greatest single source of long-range strength in our international balance-of-payments position.

On April 4, it is gratifying to report, President Nixon announced a modest relaxation of the Kennedy-Johnson controls over American lending and investing abroad. But it would have been far better if he had repealed the controls altogether.

The whole effort to eliminate our balance-of-payments deficit by direct controls over arbitrarily selected individual items is doomed to failure. Such controls may succeed in changing the relative amounts of different items, but cannot change the over-all result. At best we can make our immediate balance-of-payments figures look better at the expense of our future balance. We cannot unilaterally cut down our purchases or travel or investments abroad without also cutting down our sales abroad and our investment income from abroad. In the long run protectionist policies can only sap our economic strength.

The real remedy of our balance-of-payments and foreign-trade problems is not easy. It will not be enough to abandon all our recent hyper-protectionist measures; we must abandon also the inflationary and welfare-state policies that have made the protectionist measures seem necessary.

Internally, this means, of course, that we must stop the runaway growth of government spending and government power, stop the deficits, stop the inflationary expansion of the money supply, and stop building up the power of labor unions to impose exorbitant demands. Externally, it means that we must reform or dismantle the present international IMF currency system, which is neither an international gold standard nor a collection of independent paper standards, but a bureaucratic contraption that exerts no effective discipline on individual countries yet periodically forces the countries that follow prudent monetary policies to bail out the countries that follow reckless monetary policies, systematically breeds crises and devaluations and is breaking down anyway.

There is no need for us to consider here exactly what world monetary reforms would be most consonant with reasonable freedom of trade. But it is merely realistic to recognize that the New Protectionism is an inescapable corollary of the policies and ideology of the Welfare State, and not likely to be abandoned as long as the Welfare State remains. □

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SOLUTION TO LAST ISSUE'S TRANS-O-GRAM (May 6)

[Terry] CATCHPOLE:

HOW TO COPE WITH COPE

It would hardly seem necessary . . . to have to tell political activists that all their efforts are wasted unless eligible persons are registered to vote. . . . This basic step in practical politics is ignored by most political action organizations, including . . . the two major parties.

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DELECTATIONS

(cont. from p. 493)

Santa Clara; Sebastiani, Sonoma; Wente Brothers, Livermore, the latter making excellent white wines, among others.

When in California, trips that are unforgettable for their aesthetic, gustatory and educational delights can be taken to the wineries, almost all of them. The California landscape, vineyards alternating with cowboy brush and/or lush forests, is really beyond compare. So is the hospitality of the wineries, among which that of Almadén and Korbel stick in my mind. Curiosity as to where all the wine we had drunk for so many years came from led us there first, and I can only recommend the experience. The California Wine Advisory Board, 717 Market Street, San Francisco, will give all information and also some excellent literature on all aspects of California wine making, and the guided tours of the wineries, and their material, are also most interesting. A nicely written and practical paper-bound book, *California Wine Country*, would be most useful to have prior to and during the trips. □

ANSWERS

(cont. from p. 488)

1. (a) Nazi (b) Nazi (c) Bread (d) German (from the *New York Times*, March 7, 1932, p. 8)
2. Adolf Hitler, speaking of the President of Germany, *ibid.*
3. Hitler (Quoted by Justice Jackson, dissenting, Terminiello *v.* Chicago, 1949, in *Subject and Structure*, a freshman text edited by John M. Wasson, Little, Brown and Company, 1963, p. 331)
4. *The Official Handbook for the Schooling of Hitler Youth* (Quoted in *Harper's*, August 1938, *177*:240)
5. Dr. Hans Borchers, Consul General of Germany, referring to England (The *New York Times*, May 2, 1940, p. 8)
6. Germany, 1936. (From *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, William L. Shirer, Simon and Schuster, 1959, p. 232)
7. German National Socialism (the Nazi Party).
8. (c) Germany. (In response to the question of whether he would counsel nonresistance even if the Nazis were about to invade America and set up a fascist dictatorship. *Christian Century*, September 11, 1940, p. 1117)
9. Germany again. (Adam Alles, "Forces that Produced Hitler," *Christian Century*, November 6, 1940, p. 1370. The writer predicted that totalitarianism would overtake the U.S. as well, since "for us too God is dead.")
10. Hitler's SA (Storm Troopers). (The *New York Times*, April 10, 1932, III, p. 3)
11. *Mein Kampf*, p. 597.

Score one point for each correct answer.

12-16 Correct—A hero of the Revolution

5-11 Correct—Fair, but not in the Vanguard

0-4 Correct—Counterrevolutionary reactionary

If any of your answers were Castro, China, Lenin, Ho Chi Minh, or the *Quotations of Chairman Mao*, remember that Hitler once said,

> There is more that binds us to Bolshevism than separates us from it. There is, above all, genuine revolutionary feeling . . . I have always made allowance for this circumstance, and given orders that former Communists are to be admitted to the Party at once. The *petit bourgeois* Social Democrat and the trade-union boss will never make a National Socialist [Nazi], but the Communist always will,

and give yourself half a point for being close. □

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WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

If You Have Tears

On The Right

New York, May 1—They had a cry-in the other day in Boston, featuring Professor Owen Lattimore. In the impassioned account of the reporter, Mr. Ken O. Botwright of the *Boston Globe*, "China expert Professor Owen Lattimore broke down and wept in the middle of an address in Boston yesterday when he recalled how he had been persecuted during the anti-Communist witch-hunts of the early 1950s. And many of the 1,900 scholars at an Association for Asian Studies seminar wept in sympathy. . . . When he finished his address, they gave him a five-minute standing ovation that rattled the crystal chandeliers of a Sheraton Boston Hotel ballroom." And rattled, also, my own memory about the lachrymose Mr. Lattimore.

There is a great deal to weep about, when one reflects on what has happened to China in the past twenty years. We do not know how many people have been tortured and executed, but I have not seen an estimate of under ten million. And, suddenly, we find the Asian scholars, meeting in Boston, and listening to such as Professor O. Edmund Clubb of Columbia, blaming the existing situation in China not on those who had a hand in bringing it on, but on the McCarthy period. Then Mr. Lattimore, sobbing, spoke of "strangers [who] came out of nowhere vowing to stand by me."

It would have been altogether appropriate if those mysterious strangers had been sent by the Soviet Secret Service. Because, after all, Owen Lattimore wouldn't have recognized them as Communists. He appears never to have recognized anyone as a Communist, even people who recognized themselves as Communists. Frederick Vanderbilt Field? ("As far as I know," Lattimore told the Tydings Committee, ". . . he was rather a liberal young man.") Philip Jaffe? (". . . one of those Americans who had a very bright and open view of the democratic nature of the Communists in China, but I have no reason to believe that he was himself a Communist.") Agnes Smedley? (". . . she is not and never could be a Communist.")

A committee of Democratic and Republican senators, reviewing the record of Mr. Lattimore, voted unanimously in 1952 to endorse the finding that "Owen Lattimore was, from sometime beginning in the 1930s, a conscious, articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy." They also voted their belief that he was a liar: "Mr. Lattimore, isn't it a fact that when [Lauchlin] Currie went away for a period of time he would ask you to take care of his mail at the White House?" Lattimore: "No." Whereupon the committee produced a letter written by Lattimore on July 15, 1942: "Dear Carter: Currie asked me to take care of his correspondence while he is away. . ."

Didn't Lattimore have an office at the State Department, the McCarthyites wanted to know. "I told the newspapermen," Lattimore wrote in his book *Ordeal by Slander*, "that Senator McCarthy was crazy if he had gotten me mixed up with the State Department. I had never been in the State Department." The committee produced a letter from Lattimore to a friend, dated June 12, 1942: "My home address is . . . I am in Washington about four days a week, and when there can always be reached at Lauchlin Currie's office, Room 228, State Department Building; telephone NATional 1414, Ext. 90."

Lattimore wrote a lot of books in those days, when the McCarthyites so viciously represented him as being pro-Communist. Here is what the blurb on the jacket of one of his books said: "He [Lattimore] shows that all the Asiatic people are more interested in actual democratic practices such as the ones they can see in action across the Russian border, than they are in the fine theories of Anglo-Saxon democracies which come coupled with ruthless imperialism. . . He inclines to support American newspapermen who report that the only real democracy in China is found in Communist areas."

THAT IS THE MAN they are weeping over these days in Boston. I mean, of course, not the Bostonians, but the Asian scholars. It would be nice if they would schedule a meeting at which they could find the time to weep for the Asiatic people who fell under the domination of Mr. Lattimore's friends. □

MR. NIXON'S TAX REFORMS

New York, April 29 — One hopes that Mr. Nixon's tax proposals are designed merely as time-servers, en route to genuine tax reform say next year, or the year after. But the President said a disconcerting thing, namely: "We shall never make taxation popular, but we can make taxation fair." The only way to make taxation "fair" is to institute a uniform rate, say 20 per cent —with no deductions to help the rich, and realistic personal and family exemptions to avoid picking on the poor.

CONSIDER, for a moment, the President's proposed elimination of the investment tax credit. Presumably that elimination is in the interest of fairness. Which means that what is fair today was not fair five or six years ago. Already, that suggests that the Congress will have to make up its mind every few years about what is "fair" in business taxation—and make changes accordingly. But surely "fairness" is longer-lived than a session or two of Congress? But examine the President's reasoning:

"[The] subsidy to business investment no longer has priority over other pressing national needs." Consider, for a moment, the government official's easy use of the word "subsidy." One would suppose that a subsidy is something that Party A gives to Party B—rather than a decision by Party A to permit Party B to hang on to what is Party B's in the first instance. The so-called investment subsidy was in fact a lowering of the tax rate of corporations when said corporations increased their capital plant. In round figures, if a plant built a million dollar extension, its taxes have been reduced by $70,000, the idea being that to encourage capital growth is good for everybody. Good for the corporations, good for employment, good for the balance of trade.

Mr. Nixon continued: "In the early

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Sixties, America's productive capacity needed prompt modernization to enable it to compete with industry abroad. Accordingly, government gave high priority to providing tax incentives for this modernization."

Now: if business "needed" prompt modernization, presumably that situation arose because taxes were too high. Accordingly, the tax deduction was instituted. But now that Mr. Nixon proposes to rescind it, are we to assume that business will be handicapped as, according to Mr. Nixon and the Congress, it in fact was, during the Fifties and early Sixties? Resulting in said need for modernization? And then again, isn't the implication that we have succeeded in competing with industry abroad: when in fact, however well we are doing, clearly we are not doing well enough, as witness the continued deficit in our international payments?

It is only a single example among many available examples of how difficult it is to make justice via discriminatory tax laws—to "be fair." Corporations which had planned expansions, which expansions would have increased the labor force, will have to change their plans. Jobs will decrease. What is fair about that? The cost to the consumer of certain products will rise. What is fair about that? And so on. It is almost impossible to say with certitude that any taxation arrangement is fair. The most that can be said about it is that it is efficient. And the closest one can get to fairness is impartiality. Yes, and that means impartiality to rich people too. Even to rich people we don't like.

THE NIXON PROGRAM is—as one would expect of a Nixon program—well-balanced; well-balanced politically. For everyone, there is in prospect a 50 per cent cut in the surtax. Interestingly enough, the surtax came and now begins to go, without the usual hollering about how it favors the rich. It is, in application, a direct extension of the non-graduated tax. A 10 per cent increase in everybody's tax, so that, say, the poor man pays an extra ten dollars tax, the rich man an extra ten thousand dollars. The rate is the same, but the amounts differ.

That is as close as you come to justice in the tax laws, as brilliantly explained in three important books, of interest to modern-minded people. They are: *The Uneasy Case for Progressive Taxation* by Walter J. Blum and Harry Kalven Jr., *The Ethics of Redistribution* by Bertrand de Jouvenel, and *The Constitution of Liberty* by F. A. Hayek.

But one's hope is still that the Nixon Administration will engage in a couple of grand strategic enterprises, one of them being true tax reform. □

AN EVENING WITH THE KIDS

New York, May 8—In front of you in the cool spring air are a few thousand college students spread about Tanglewood-like in the grassy amphitheater.

The campus is in tension. A court has issued a ten-day standing injunction against any further attempt to occupy one of the buildings. Illegally. This is deemed, by the black militants and the SDS, as an affront on the dignity of revolution. The president of the student council, a young man of spectacular poise and ability, introduces you, and is occasionally interrupted by hecklers who call out against the injunction. You rise and begin an address in which you attempt an analysis of the causes of the student disorders.

With great difficulty. Because on your left is a band of black militants. They will laugh uproariously without provocation, carefully beginning and ending at the signal of their concertmaster. Over on the right, the apparently segregated white SDS uses the tactic of applauding at incongruous points in the address, e.g. at the mention, in a passage on crime, of the slaughter of a student by a gang of marauders. The technique is clap clap clap clap clap, which is taxonomically different from the traditional booing and hissing of the heckler, but whose effect is of course the same in that it prevents the audience from hearing the speaker, who is in turn distracted.

But along he plods, thinking that surely the thousands will in due course discipline the few, to permit themselves to hear a speech which after all they came to hear. But they are silent, so that after about fifteen minutes, the speaker gathers together his notes and announces that he is finished speaking under such circumstances and strides back to his chair.

There is tumult, and the chairman rises and pleads with the militants to be quiet. They roar their disapproval of life in general, of the pervasive injunction, of the irrelevance of it all. The aroused majority begins to shout back. One young man rises and accosts the leader of the black militants and shouts, "Black is beautiful, but black can be stupid, too!"

The speaker is meanwhile whispering with the student seated next to him, "Why do you people put up with it?" "Because," he said, "the last time we ejected one of these people, the chancellor gave us hell. We just can't do anything, period. Especially not if they're black."

The council president shouts down the demonstrators and asks the speaker please to try again, which he does. This time the two flanks keep not exactly quiet, but quiet enough so that the others can at least discern the speaker's words. At the end, there was much applause from the thousands, which is their way less of complimenting the speaker, than of rebuking the demonstrators.

The question period is cut down after the second question, which takes the form of a tirade from a young man against the speaker and his failure to remark the cruelty of Americans in Vietnam, concluding with the charges that the speaker had condescended to him. To which the speaker replies that if anything he said had suggested that he condescended to such as the questioner, that was precisely what he had intended to communicate. The crowd goes wild with voluptuous delight. The speaker then adds that the country is at war in Vietnam and spending $80 billion a year so as to furnish an opportunity for the questioner to cultivate his ignorance, and grow his beard. Delirious pleasure for the students, heated animadversions from the demonstrators, of the racist-pig variety.

The chairman thinks it best to call the program to an end, and escorts the speaker through a throng of excited enthusiasts, apologizing for the disruptions. The SDSer tags along explaining that his beard grows without any encouragement at all from the Pentagon. The speaker reaches the sanctuary of the automobile, and the evening ends, the speaker confirmed in his suspicion that there is nothing at all wrong with the overwhelming majority of the students, whose intimidation is less the result of the raucous minority, than the result of the intellectual and moral abdication of their faculty and deans, who are made, like their cousins in Ithaca, out of Cornell Jelly. □

(Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.)

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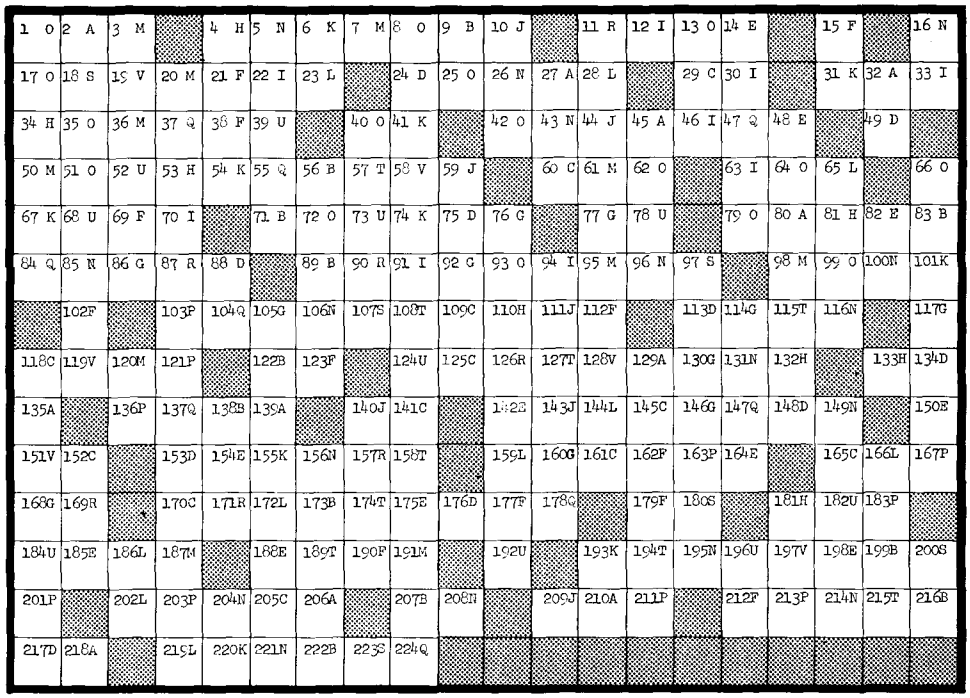
Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (below) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, blank boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in below, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 504 for solution of last Trans-O-Gram



DEFINITIONS

A. State characterized by sickly sentimentality
45 27 135 206 210 218 2 32 80 129 139

B. A prophetess who guided Aeneas through the underworld
56 83 199 207 216 222 9 71 89 122 138 173

C. A section of a football field near the goal line
60 29 141 165 170 205 109 118 125 145 152 161

D. The bottom hoop securing the staves of a tub or barrel
75 49 88 113 134 148 153 176 217 24

E. *Colpomenia sinuosa*
82 48 142 150 154 164 175 185 198 14 188

F. A vine of Japan, having dark purple flowers and white-hairy pods
123 38 162 177 179 190 212 15 21 69 102 112

G. A large, nearly extinct, black and white woodpecker
130 117 160 168 76 77 86 92 105 114 146

H. Petty, inconsequential
133 53 4 181 34 110 81 132

I. This city in Arizona can fly Old Glory with little trouble
30 22 46 63 70 94 12 91 33

J. Children bereft of parents
140 44 143 209 111 59 10

K. Something or someone remarkably good or exciting
155 31 74 193 41 67 220 54 101 6

L. Stupid
219 23 144 172 159 186 202 65 166 28

M. Inhabitants of the Northern kingdom of Israel
3 50 98 191 61 95 7 20 36 120 187

N. What back-seat drivers ought to form
116 16 26 43 100 106 131 149 85 96 156 195 204 208 214 221 5

O. A measure of dispersion, computed by taking the arithmetic mean of the absolute values of the differences of the functional values from some central value
8 13 17 25 35 42 64 79 99 66 72 93 1 40 51 62

P. Workrooms where wages are usually frozen
121 136 163 167 183 201 203 213 103 211

Q. Starvation
147 84 137 47 55 224 37 104 178

R. The principal river in Ireland
169 11 157 87 90 126 171

S. A fitting name for a serious young man
180 18 97 200 223 107

T. Church founded by Frumentius
189 115 215 57 194 127 108 174 158

U. Ineffectively
192 73 124 182 184 196 39 68 52 78

V. The narrow opening between a fireplace and its flue
197 151 19 128 58 119

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Why the Foreign Money Crisis Could Trigger the Next Depression

AND HOW YOU CAN PROTECT YOUR LIFE SAVINGS

If economist William F. Rickenbacker is right, there may be little time left to convert your holdings to a form that can withstand the coming financial holocaust. In DEATH OF THE DOLLAR, he explains with cool — no, bone-chilling — logic, why he thinks the depression must come. Then he reasons out the steps (the very few steps) that you can take to protect the assets you've accumulated.

WHAT A NIGHTMARE! You lose your job or business. You see the value of your stocks or property drop by half overnight. You lose most of your savings. In effect, you must pay twice as much for your mortgage or car loan, *and you can't get any further credit!* The trouble is, this may not just be a bad dream; it could be a FACT.

According to Rickenbacker, *the stage is already set for the worst depression in American history.* It is the current gold crisis that will trigger the holocaust. Nobody knows exactly how and when; it could be next year or maybe next week. But strike it will, says Rickenbacker, *probably with no more warning than what you are reading right now!*

Step by step, the author explains why. He shows how our gold reserves are tied to our international balance of payments. With plain horse-sense reasoning, he shows why all the financial parachutes and fire extinguishers that the government has laced through our money system will prove to be *frauds* when the chips are down.

Does FDIC insurance on your savings account make you feel secure? At this very moment the FDIC can pay no more than $1 for every $100 of yours it has insured! Are you impressed when the Federal Reserve "monetizes the debt"? Rickenbacker shows how this can take a $100 debt, turn it into a $600 credit and skyrocket the cost of milk and eggs. Does $10 billion in gold sound like plenty of "reserves"? It's less than half of what we had just a few years ago — and it now is supposed to support *four times more* in short-term loans to the U.S. How long will foreign countries continue to accept our notes — our promise to pay in gold — *when they know we soon may have no gold?*

Above all—Rickenbacker shows why Wall Street and the entire financial community can be *expected* to be caught napping when the hurricane strikes. (Their slumber is almost a required ingredient.)

How You May AVOID Financial Disaster

If a reading of Rickenbacker's analysis makes sense to you, you'll want to know what steps to take as a hedge against the trouble ahead. The author analyzes all the major investment possibilities — stocks, bonds, convertibles, real estate, cash savings, art treasures, etc. — showing which types of holdings you may want to avoid, which are more likely to provide you with a crash helmet.

Please understand, *this is not a tip sheet in book form.* There is no "sell Tweedledum and buy Tweedledee" advice. This is a financial analysis written in plain (and graceful) English. Any high school student can understand it. The purpose is to show the average investor what *really* is going on in the world of international finance so that he can make more knowledgeable decisions about his current and future investments.

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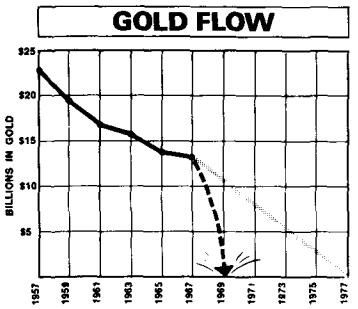

THE CHART TELLS THE STORY. Black line shows loss of gold reserves since 1957 as foreigners cash in dollars for gold. Grey line projects loss of remaining gold by 1977 IF rate of loss stays the same. But the outflow is sure to speed up. Reason: we continue to spend far more dollars than we can redeem in gold. Broken line shows what will happen as nervous creditors lose confidence and "rush" our government in a panic to "get their gold before it's too late". Then the U.S. must stop redeeming dollars for gold or run out of gold — thus driving the price way up and cutting the dollar's buying power. Will it happen this month? In 1969? 1970? No one knows; it could happen any time now.

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* *Don't jump to any conclusions*

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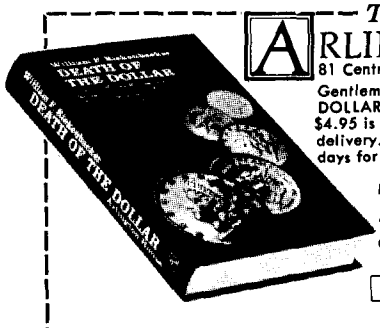

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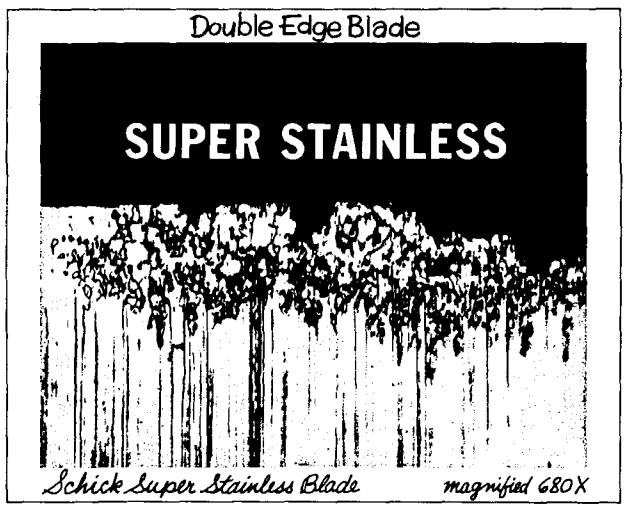
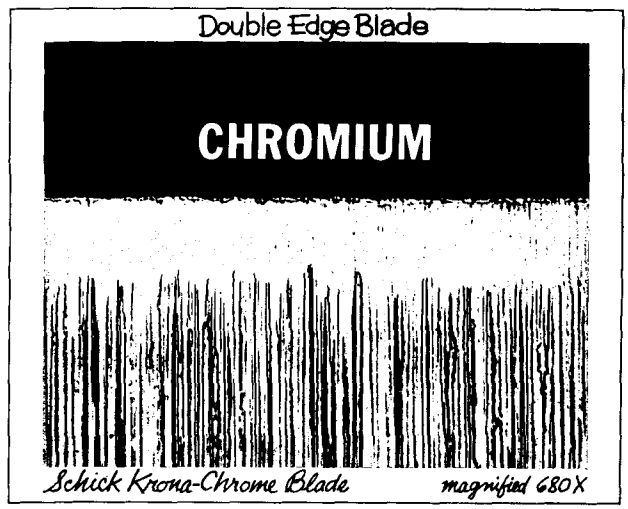
Schick® chromium out-shaves and outlasts any super stainless

(even our own)



Super stainless is not complete protection against corrosion. This, for instance, is a corroded section of a plastic-coated Schick super stainless edge after five shaves, magnified 680 times. It's rough, pitted, corroded.



This is a section of the new plastic-coated Krona-Chrome chromium edge after five shaves, magnified 680 times. As you can see, chromium more effectively resists blade breakdown due to corrosion.

Only Schick Krona-Chrome® has the chromium edge.

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